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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY

THOMAS KEIGHTLEY,

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF GREECE, THE HISTORY OF ROME,
OUTLINES OF HISTORY, ETC.

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ERRATA.

- Page 197, line 27, for *machination* read *Machiavellian*.
 — 202, last line note, for *IV.* read *II*.
 — 392, note 2, for *Acts* read *Arts*, and add note on opposite page.
 — 469, note 2, for *myself* read *himself*.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HOUSE OF TUDOR (CONTINUED).

CHAPTER III.

HENRY VIII. (CONTINUED).*

1527—1535.

The Reformation.—Luther.—Henry writes against him.—Origin of Henry's divorce.—Anne Boleyn.—Progress of the divorce.—Cranmer.—Fall of Wolsey ;—his death.—Opinions of Universities.—Cromwell.—Cranmer made primate.—Henry marries Anne Boleyn.—The Holy Maid of Kent.—Execution of bishop Fisher ;—of sir T. More ;—his character.

EUROPE had now for centuries bowed beneath the system of polytheistic idolatry taught by the papal hierarchy. The time was at length arrived when reason was to resume her rights, and forms of religion more in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel were to be established. The Reformation marks one of the most important æras in the history of mankind: as it speedily extended to England, and

* Authorities: Polydore Virgil, Herbert, Godwin, Halle, and the other chroniclers, Burnet, Strype, &c. See Appendix (A).

there produced its best fruits, we will here give a sketch of its commencement, and a slight account of the early life of the man who was the great agent in emancipating the human mind.

Among the mighty plans of pope Julius II. was one for erecting at Rome a magnificent temple in honour of the apostle from whom the popes pretend to derive their authority. When Leo X., of the tasteful family of the Medici, ascended the papal throne in the thirty-seventh year of his age, his ambition excited him to continue and complete this noble edifice. But his generosity and extravagance had nearly drained the papal treasury, and, being perfectly ignorant of and careless about religion, he without any scruple had recourse to the old practice of selling indulgences. The archbishop of Mentz was the person selected for managing the holy traffic in Germany; and this prelate chose as his principal agent a Dominican friar named Tetzel, who filled the office of inquisitor, a man of scandalous life, ignorant, and matchlessly impudent. Tetzel, who had been already similarly employed, selected suitable assistants from among the brethren of his own order; and soon, from press and pulpit, streamed forth currents of declamation on the pains of purgatory and the sovereign power of indulgences, for the remission of sins, past, present and to come, however deep might be their dye. The simple, good-hearted Germans gladly purchased the remission of their own sins, and those of their deceased kindred, now languishing in purgatory. The per-centage allowed to Tetzel and his brethren was therefore considerable, and the tavern and the brothel we are assured shared largely in their gains. His ill-fortune at length led Tetzel to the neighbourhood of the newly founded university of Wittemberg, in Saxony; and here Providence had prepared an overthrow, not merely for indulgences, but for the whole system on which the papacy had been erected.

The professor of theology at this time at Wittemberg was Dr. Martin Luther. This extraordinary man was born

at Eisleben, in the county of Mansfield, in the year 1483. His father, who was engaged in the mines of that country, gave him a good education, intending him for the study of the civil law. He had made some progress in this science, when an accident changed the whole current of his thoughts and his future life. As he was walking alone one day in the fields there came on a dreadful storm of lightning and thunder; in his terror he flung himself on the ground, and made a vow to enter a monastery if he escaped. This vow he kept, notwithstanding the grief and entreaties of his parents, and he became an Augustinian friar in the year 1505. Two years after he found by chance in the library of his convent a Latin Bible, and thus to his surprise discovered that there were more Scriptures than those portions contained in the ordinary books of devotion. About this time too, as he was suffering under the distress of conscience incident to pious minds, he was comforted by an aged brother of his order, who showed him, from the Creed and a sermon of St. Bernard's, that remission of sins was to be had by faith only. He applied himself diligently to the Scriptures, and to the writings of St. Augustine, and was soon regarded as the most learned man of his order in Germany. He was ordained in 1507, and Frederick the Wise, the elector of Saxony, by the advice of Staupitz the vicar-general of the Augustine order, made him professor of philosophy at Wittemberg. Three years after Luther visited Rome on the affairs of his convent, and he returned with no very favourable impressions of the zeal and piety of the Italian clergy. After his return, he redoubled his application to the study of the Scriptures, and in 1512 having taken his doctor's degree, he expounded the Psalms and the Epistle to the Romans. He held the doctrines of election and of justification by faith only, and he had begun to view the scholastic theology with indifference or contempt, on which account he was even then suspected of heresy.

While Luther was thus engaged in the search after and

communication of truth, Tetzel came into his neighbourhood. Some of those who made their confessions to Luther acknowledged sins of no common magnitude, for which they boldly demanded absolution. Luther refused, alleging that sincere contrition and heavy penance must precede. They produced the indulgences they had purchased from Tetzel. He bade them beware how they trusted to such things, and still refused them absolution. They complained to Tetzel, who pronounced Luther a heretic, against whom, in virtue of his office of inquisitor, he was bound to proceed. Luther then set himself to examine the authority for this power of granting indulgences, and finding that there was none, he began to preach openly against them*. The warfare between him and the papacy thus began, but its progress and its glorious results fall not within the limits of a history of England.

In this country the doctrines of Wickliffe, in spite of the efforts of the clergy, and the terrors of the stake, had secretly spread to a great extent. The books of the Saxon reformer, whose tenets were so nearly akin to his, were speedily translated, and were eagerly purchased. The bishops however exerted themselves to suppress the reformed practices and opinions. They acted on the slightest suspicions, and it sufficed to bring a man to the stake that he should have taught his children the Creed, Lord's-prayer and Commandments in the vulgar tongue. To damp the spirit of the reformers still more, the king himself came forward as the literary champion of the church. His course of studies had lain much among the schoolmen; and the writings of that extraordinary genius Thomas Aquinas, named the Angelic Doctor, were his chief favourites. As Luther, in his 'Babylonish Captivity,' had violently assailed these works, which formed the great armoury of the Romish

* The common story of Luther's opposition to Tetzel having arisen from the disappointed avarice of the Augustinians, and their jealousy at the sale of indulgences being given to the Dominicans, is utterly devoid of foundation. Yet Dr. Lingard cannot refrain from insinuating it.

party, the choler of the royal theologian was excited, and he resolved to enter the lists with the Saxon friar. With the aid of his bishops and of the learned Sir Thomas More, he produced in the year 1521 a 'Defence of the Seven Sacraments,' respectable both in matter and style. It was dedicated to the pope, by whom it was received with gratitude, and the title of Defender of the Faith was bestowed on its royal author. Luther however treated it with little respect; and as Henry, after the usage of the time, had given him hard names, he repaid the compliment in kind and with interest. He afterwards however wrote an ample apology; but, with uncourtierlike simplicity, excused himself on the ground of his having been assured, that the work was not the king's own, but that it was the production of the cardinal of York, "that object of hatred to both God and man—that pest of the English realm." It may easily be supposed that an apology like this tended little to mollify the sceptred controversialist, of whose zealous co-operation the pope and clergy now felt quite assured. Yet a deadly enmity and a final separation were to take place between the papacy and its champion: the occasion was as follows.

Though Henry VII., in his anxiety to retain the Spanish portion and Spanish alliance, had disregarded the scruples of Warham, and had obtained the papal dispensation, he was not at ease in his mind about the matter; and he obliged the prince, when he attained the age of fourteen years, to make a formal protest against the consummation of the marriage, and when dying he conjured him it is said to break it off. Catherine however had won the affections of young Henry and of the people, by her amiable temper and her blameless manners, and he espoused her with general approbation. She bore him three sons and two daughters, but they all died in infancy except the lady Mary, born in 1515. The queen now fell into ill health; her temper naturally melancholy became peevish, and though she retained the king's esteem she lost her hold on

his affections. Nature in fact had destined Catherine for the convent rather than the court*; and, though Henry had not been strictly faithful to the marriage-bed†, his attachment to her for so many years is not undeserving of praise.

Henry, who ardently longed for male issue, now gave up all hopes, and he therefore caused his daughter Mary to be proclaimed princess of Wales (1518). The early deaths of his offspring, who had but blossomed to die, probably led him to reflect on the nature of his marriage; he consulted the pages of the Angelic Doctor, and there found that the pope has not the power to dispense with the laws of God; among which is to be reckoned, as moral and eternal, that in the law of Moses prohibiting marriage with a brother's widow; and the very curse (that of childlessness) there denounced seemed to have fallen on him. It is not known when these scruples first began to affect him; but according to his own assertion‡, he ceased in 1524 to cohabit with the queen.

In 1527, when a marriage was agreed on between the princess Mary and the king of France or his son, the bishop of Tarbes, the French ambassador, expressed some doubts as to her legitimacy. The king then mentioned his scruples to his confessor Longland, bishop of Lincoln. It is asserted by many writers, and it is perhaps the truth,

* In the Appendix (B.) will be found Sanders' account of her devotional exercises. Few, we fancy, would covet so *very* devout a wife.

† He had a natural son by Elizabeth, the daughter of sir John Blount, and widow of sir Gilbert Tailbois, whom he created duke of Richmond. That he violated, and then retained as his mistress, Mary the elder sister of Anne Boleyn, is asserted by cardinal Pole.

‡ He so said to Gryneus; as the latter tells Bucer in his letter of Sept. 10, 1531. See Burnet, i. 75. This may have been on account of the queen's infirmities, though Henry said otherwise, for he was not a man of strict veracity.

The bishop of Bayonne however wrote Oct. 16, 1528. "*Ne à les voir ensemble se scauroit ou de riens appercevoir; et jusqu'à cette heure n'ont que ung lict et une table.*" "I notice this passage," says Lingard, "because our modern historians tell us, that for some years the delicacy of Henry's conscience had compelled him to abstain from Catherine's bed." Gryneus then, it seems, is a modern.

that Wolsey, who hated the queen because she rebuked him for his ill life, and ardently longed for revenge on the emperor for his conduct about the papacy, was at the bottom of the whole proceeding, that he first instilled doubts into the king's mind, and then engaged the bishop of Tarbes to raise objections. Whether he were the original author of the scruples or not, the cardinal entered warmly into the project of procuring a divorce, and thus avenging himself on the queen and the emperor; at the same time he planned a French connection for his royal master. The person on whom he fixed was Renée, daughter to the late king Louis XII., and he went over himself to France in the summer of this year on that project. But while Wolsey was thus pursuing his schemes of ambition and revenge, a person of whom he little dreamed had acquired an invincible power over the heart of the king.

When the young widow of Louis XII. returned to England, the daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn remained behind, and was taken into the service of Claude, the queen of Francis I. After some years Anne Boleyn was recalled to England, and she became one of the attendants of queen Catherine; and as she was beautiful in person, accomplished in manners, sensible, witty, and animated in conversation, she was soon the object of general admiration. Lord Henry Percy, the heir of Northumberland, who was then in the family of the cardinal, paid his addresses to her. His suit was favourably received, but the king it is said had also felt the charms of the fair maid of honour; and the cardinal was directed to prevent the match. He accordingly reminded Percy of the inferiority of Anne's family; but the lover asserted that her lineage was equal to his own*, and refused to give her up. The cardinal grew angry, and said he would send for his father out of the north, who would soon make him break it off; and when the old earl arrived he used such arguments as con-

* Her mother was sister to the duke of Norfolk, her father was son of one of the co-heiresses of the earl of Ormond.

vinced his son of the inutility of opposition, and he obliged him to espouse the lady Mary Talbot, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury. Anne was removed for some time from court*, but her exile was not of long continuance, and some time after the king revealed his passion to her. She fell on her knees and said that he must be speaking only in jest and to prove her, and she concluded with these words; "Most noble king, I will rather lose my life than my virtue, which shall be the greatest and the best part of the dowry that I shall bring my husband." Henry replied that he would still hope. "I understand not, most mighty king," said Anne, "how you should retain any such hope; your wife I cannot be, both in respect of my own unworthiness and also because you have a queen already; and your strumpet I will not be †." Ere long however she yielded so far that she agreed to accept Henry's hand in case of his obtaining a divorce. Such conduct was indelicate according to our present notions; her own times do not seem to have regarded it in that light ‡.

Henry was now resolved on obtaining a divorce from the court of Rome. This he judged would be a matter of little difficulty, as divorces had been granted in much less dubious cases; and, moreover, the pope had a good excuse, the bull of Julius II. having been procured under false pretences. By orders from the king, archbishop Warham assembled the bishops, and they all, except Fisher of Rochester, signed an instrument expressing their doubts of the validity of the king's marriage. Dr. Knight, one of the royal secretaries, was then despatched to Rome (July 1527). But the pontiff, Clement VII., was at this time shut up in

* "Whereat she smoked [fumed], for all this while she knew nothing of the king's intended purpose." (Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, i. 67.)

† Turner, from the Sloane MS. No. 2495. In the '*Estrella de Sevilla*,' a play of Lopez de Vega's, the heroine makes a similar reply to the king,

Para muger soy poco,

Para dama soy mucho.

‡ In the Appendix we will discuss the more material of the questions relating to Anne Boleyn.

the castle of St. Angelo, a captive to the troops of the emperor, who had lately taken and sacked the city of Rome. Knight found great difficulty in communicating with him, and Clement, a timid, vacillating man, trembled at the idea of offending the emperor*. Henry meantime exerted himself for the pontiff's release; and when Clement at length made his escape to Orvieto, Knight had a personal interview with him, in which he was profuse in terms of gratitude to Henry, but implored for delay lest he should be ruined by the incensed emperor. He gave it however as his private opinion to Casale, one of the English agents, that the best course for Henry would be to marry another wife and then to sue for a divorce. The king however and his advisers saw too much difficulty in this course, and it was resolved to send Stephen Gardiner, Wolsey's secretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, to Italy. On their way (1528), they obtained, as directed, a promise from the king of France to use his influence with the pope. They found Clement still at Orvieto (Mar. 22); he shuffled as usual, but on hearing that the French arms had had some success in Naples, he took courage and issued a commission to the cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio to try the cause in England. Nothing could be more pleasing to Henry than this, for he reckoned that both would equally stand his friends, as he had some time before given to the latter the see of Salisbury and a palace at Rome. Campeggio, acting in concert as we may suppose with the pope, made all the difficulty and delay possible, pleading his legatine commission at Rome and the gout with which he was afflicted. Wolsey wrote, urging his departure in the strongest terms, and at length he set out. He travelled however leisurely, and did not reach England till October. He was received by Henry with the utmost respect, but

* Lord Bolingbroke (Remarks on Hist. of England) justly describes Clement as "the least scrupulous man alive, who would have divorced him, or done any other pontifical job for him if the league formed to reduce the emperor's power in Italy had succeeded."

his instructions were to procrastinate. He advised the king to live with the queen; he counselled the queen to retire into a nunnery. But Henry wanted to marry Anne Boleyn, and Catherine had too much spirit to surrender her rights.

All hopes of accommodation being at an end, and all his subterfuges being exhausted, Campeggio was obliged to consent to the opening of the legatine court. It sat (May 31, 1529,) in a hall of the convent of the Black Friars. The royal pair took up their abode in the adjoining palace of Bridewell, to be at hand. After going through the preliminary forms the legates cited the king and queen to appear on the 18th of June. On that day Henry appeared by his proctors, the queen in person. She protested against the competency of the court, as the cause had been evoked to Rome by the pope. This, she said, her nephew was exerting himself to effect, and with the delay of a few days she pledged herself to prove that it had been done. The court was then adjourned to the 21st, when both parties appeared in person. On their names being called, the king answered "Here;" but the queen rose up, and going over knelt down before the king, and said that "she was a poor woman and a stranger in his dominions; she had been his wife for twenty years and more, and had borne him several children, and ever studied to please him; he had found her a true maid, as his own conscience could witness. If she had done anything amiss, she was willing to be put away with shame. Their parents were esteemed very wise princes, and no doubt had good and learned counsellors when the match was agreed on. She would not therefore submit to the court, as her lawyers durst not speak freely for her; she therefore desired to be excused till she heard from Spain." She then rose and left the court, and would never again appear. The king publicly bore testimony to her virtues, and declared that nothing but the uneasiness of his conscience, and the doubts cast by foreign powers on the legitimacy of his daughter could have induced him to

take a step which thus wounded her feelings. At the desire of Wolsey he further declared that, instead of urging him to this course as was reported, the cardinal had at first opposed his scruples.

The court sat again on the 25th; the queen not appearing when summoned was pronounced contumacious, and the legates proceeded on this and other days to hear the evidence on the king's part. The proofs given of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were such as can leave, we apprehend, little doubt on any reasonable mind*; and the king was in full expectation of a sentence in his favour†, when Campeggio (July 23) suddenly adjourned the court to the 1st of October, alleging that the vacation of the consistory at Rome, of which this court he said was a part, had commenced, and would last till that day. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and other peers who were present, were greatly enraged at this artifice, and Suffolk, striking the table, cried, "By the mass, I see that the old saw is true; never was there legate or cardinal that did any good in England." Wolsey rebuked him with firmness for his conduct, and reminded him of the obligation which *he* had once been under to a cardinal. The court then broke up. The king, who was in an adjoining room, took the matter with wonderful patience, expecting a favourable sentence in October; but his hopes were crushed, when on the 4th of August a messenger arrived with citations for him and the queen to appear in person or by proxy at Rome. The emperor had by this time by his threats and promises completely gained over the pontiff, from whose thoughts nothing now was further than any idea of gratifying Henry.

To Wolsey nothing could be more calamitous than the

* See Burnet, i. p. 68. A summary of the depositions will be found in Herbert. See also the discourse between Wolsey and the queen's almoner in the Illustrative Documents in Singer's edition of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey. With all our respect for the piety and virtue of Catherine, we find it impossible to credit her assertion to the contrary.

† For Campeggio had brought over and shown him a bull for the divorce in case the consummation of the former marriage should be proved.

turn things had taken. The queen and her friends looked on him as the source and origin of all the evil; Norfolk, Suffolk, and the other lay lords had long been envious and jealous of him, and they now took occasion to instil doubts and suspicions of him into the mind of the king and Anne Boleyn, with which last he had been on terms of great cordiality. For though, when Henry first informed him of his intentions with respect to her, he threw himself on his knees and earnestly endeavoured to turn him from them, when he found him unalterable, he entered in appearance cordially into his views. It is however likely that Anne was informed by her lover of his efforts to prevent her elevation, and this may have disposed her to join with the cardinal's enemies. It was therefore probably owing to her influence, that when, about the end of September, Wolsey accompanied Campeggio to Grafton, in Northamptonshire, (where the king then was staying,) on that cardinal's audience of leave previous to his return to Italy, though he was received with tolerable civility, there was an absence of Henry's former kindness. This was his last interview with the king.

An actor destined to be of great importance now makes his first appearance on the scene. As the king was returning to London he stopped for a few days at Waltham to take the pleasure of the chase. Fox and Gardiner, who were in his train, were there entertained by a gentleman named Cressy. Here they met an old college acquaintance, Dr. Thomas Cranmer, a lecturer in theology at Cambridge, and well versed in the Scriptures, the Fathers and the religious controversies at this time prevalent. At supper, the king's case, the common topic of conversation, was introduced. Cranmer said he thought the opinions of universities and eminent divines and canonists should be taken, and the matter be thus decided. Fox and Gardiner were pleased with the idea; and when next day the court returned to Greenwich, and the king began to ask them what was now to be done, Fox mentioned this plan,

honestly naming the author, for which Gardiner assisted reproved him, as they might, he said, have taken the credit of it to themselves. The king was struck with it, and asked if Cranmer was still at Waltham. They said they had left him there. "Marry, then," said he, "I will surely speak to him. Let him be sent for out of hand. I perceive that this man hath the sow by the right ear. If I had but known this device two years ago it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me of much disquietness." Cranmer, who had returned to Cambridge, was brought up to London. The king was greatly pleased with his modesty and his learning; he opened his mind to him, and desired him to put his sentiments on the case in writing, for which purpose he directed the lord Rochfort, Anne Boleyn's father*, to take him home to his house, and furnish him with books and everything else he required.

The fall of Wolsey was now at hand. At the opening of the Michaelmas term he proceeded to the court of chancery with his usual pomp and state. Three days after he was waited on by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with an order to resign the great seal and retire to Esher, in Surrey, where was a house belonging to his see of Winchester. He refused, alleging that he held the seals by patent; a warm altercation ensued; the two dukes finding him inflexible rode to Windsor, and next day returned with a letter from the king, at the sight of which Wolsey submitted. Having caused an inventory to be made of his immense quantity of plate, linen, hangings, furniture, etc. at York Place (afterwards named Whitehall), the whole of which the king required him to give up, he entered his barge to proceed toward his destination. The river was covered with boats, full of people expecting to see him taken to the Tower, but to their disappointment his barge went up the stream. At Putney he landed, and mounted his mule to go on to Esher. He was not quite clear of the

* He had been created viscount Rochfort in 1525.

turn ~~th~~ when he was met by Norris, groom of the stole, giving him a ring and a kind message from the king. Abject in adversity as he had been insolent and haughty in prosperity*, he threw himself from his mule, took off his cap, and knelt in the mire to receive the communication. He then proceeded in better spirits to his place of exile.

The king now summoned a parliament for the first time for seven years. The house of lords forthwith voted a long and vague charge, in forty-four articles, against the fallen favourite; but when it was sent down to the commons, Thomas Cromwell, a servant of the cardinal, who had procured a seat in parliament for the express purpose, defended his patron with such fidelity and spirit as stopped the bill in that house, and laid the foundation of his own future favour with the king, who knew how to value worth and honesty†. Wolsey was also indicted on the statute of provisions for having exercised his legatine authority. Though he had obtained the royal license for that purpose, he did not venture to plead it, and a sentence of *præmunire* was passed on him. The king however, who, it would appear, only wished to humble him, hearing that he had fallen sick, directed his own physician to attend him; he also sent him another ring, accompanied by kind messages from himself and Anne Boleyn. He further (Feb. 12, 1530) granted him a full pardon; allowed him to retain the see of York, with a pension of four thousand marks a year out of that of Winchester; he made him a present of plate and furniture to the value of 6000*l.*, and gave him permission to remove to Richmond. But his enemies would not allow him to remain so near the court, and he received orders to go and reside in his diocese. He alleged his poverty; money was then sent him, and in Passion-week he set forth

* How different from the noble-minded Becket! The times however were altered.

† Cavendish, i. 207. Lingard however (vi. 160) thinks that Cromwell acted under the direction of the king in the whole affair.

for the north in melancholy mood. His train consisted of one hundred and sixty servants, and seventy-two carts laden with provisions and furniture. He stopped till midsummer at Southwell, a house belonging to his see, and then moved to Scroby, another of his houses further north; and finally, about the end of September, fixed himself at Cawood, a village within a few miles of York. At these places he endeared himself to all classes of the people by his affability, his charity, and his strict discharge of his religious duties. The ceremony of his installation in the cathedral was fixed for Monday, the 1st of November, but on the preceding Friday his former servant Henry Percy, now earl of Northumberland, arrived, and arrested him on a charge of high treason. As he was departing, the peasantry assembled, crying, "God save your grace! God save your grace! The foul fiend take them that have thus hurried you from us! We pray God that every vengeance may light upon them!" He stayed for a fortnight with the earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield Park. Here he was seized with a dysentery; but he resumed his journey and got as far as Leicester, when the abbot of the convent of that place came forth with his monks to receive him. "Father abbot," said the dying cardinal, "I am come to leave my bones among you." He was then conveyed to a chamber, which he never left. When he found himself dying, he addressed sir William Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, who had him in charge, praying him to recommend him to the king. "He is," said he "a prince of a most royal carriage and hath a princely heart; and, rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom. I do assure you that I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail. Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my ser-

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vice to God, but only to my prince." Shortly after uttering these words he breathed his last (Nov. 28).

On the fall of the cardinal, the duke of Norfolk, Anne's uncle, became the leading person in the cabinet; Gardiner was made secretary, and sir Thomas More chancellor. As the pope and emperor were to meet at Bologna for the coronation of the latter, an embassy headed by Anne's father (lately created earl of Wiltshire) was sent thither to attend to Henry's interests: Cranmer and other divines* accompanied them. Charles, on their introduction to him, said to the earl, "Stop, sir; allow your colleagues to speak; you are a party in the cause." The earl replied with spirit, that he was there not as a father, but as his prince's minister, and that the emperor's opposition should not prevent his sovereign from demanding and obtaining justice. From the pope, however, no satisfaction could be obtained. Henry finally resolved to put Cranmer's plan into execution, and measures were adopted for collecting the opinions of universities, theologians, and canonists.

The king first applied to his own universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and not without great difficulty and able management on the part of Fox and Gardiner, obtained from them an opinion that his marriage was unlawful; but they would say nothing respecting the power of the pope to dispense. The truth is, they feared the progress of the new opinions, and wished not to weaken the papal authority. Agents were also employed on the continent to procure the opinions of the universities and of eminent divines and civilians, and the result was highly favourable to the views of Henry. Not only the French universities (which might be suspected to be under the influence of their king), but those of Italy, even Bologna, which was in the dominions of the pope, included, decided in favour of the divorce; the principal divines and canonists did the same, though

* "Among whom was Thomas Cranmer, a clergyman attached to the Boleyn family," says Lingard. The object of this first notice of Cranmer is evident.

Henry's agents, it is said, gave no money but the usual fees to the canon lawyers, while the emperor showered preferments on those who gave sentence against it*. The Jews when consulted declared the prohibition in Leviticus to be universally binding, while the case of exception in Deuteronomy was restricted to Judæa. Zuinglius and the Swiss reformers pronounced the marriage unlawful: the German reformers in general took the most rational and moderate view of the case; they said that the marriage should not have taken place originally, but that since it had been contracted it should not now be dissolved†. It may therefore be said that the general opinion of Europe was that marriage with a brother's widow was against the law of God‡.

The whole question in effect comes to this: Was the law in Leviticus of universal obligation, or merely peculiar to the Hebrew nation; was the exception in Deuteronomy coextensive with the former prohibition; had the pope the power of dispensing with the divine law? At the present day the answer would be simple: it is now generally agreed that both the prohibition and the exception were for the Israelites alone, though the former has very properly been adopted in the codes of Christian nations: we should therefore say with the German reformers that a man in Henry's case would not be justified in putting away his wife. But in Henry's time men had not generally arrived at this rational mode of viewing the Mosaic law. The prevalent opinion undoubtedly was, that such a marriage was incestuous, and should be dissolved. At all events, had Catherine not been aunt to the emperor, the holy father, who had always been so ready to oblige his royal children in

* The natural, we might say inevitable, supposition is, that bribery was employed on both sides; but the emperor and pope had certainly the means of giving much higher rewards than Henry.

† Agreeably to the maxim of the civil law respecting clandestine marriages, *Quod fieri non debuit factum valet*.

‡ It is however to be observed, that they all went on the supposition of the first marriage having been consummated.

these matters, would have granted Henry a divorce without hesitation*.

A memorial, which had been signed by Warham and Wolsey, and by four bishops, twenty-two abbots, and several of the temporal nobility, was now transmitted to Rome, praying his holiness to attend to the opinions of so many eminent men, and to decide the question, but hinting that if he did not it would be decided in England without him. Clement was in the utmost perplexity; he feared lest England might follow the example of the north of Germany, and cast off her allegiance to the holy see; at the same time he stood in awe of the emperor, who steadfastly maintained the cause of his aunt, and would only consent to Henry's espousing Anne by what is termed a left-handed marriage, thus reserving all their rights to Catherine and her daughter. But Henry spurned at this when it was hinted to him: he would be regularly divorced, and would have no compromise.

Thomas Cromwell, who had so honourably distinguished himself by fidelity to his patron Wolsey in his fall, was now in the service of the king. He was of humble origin, being the son of a fuller or a blacksmith at Putney. He served as a private soldier in Italy, and was then for some time in a mercantile house at Venice. On his return to England he commenced the study of the law, and Wolsey, who knew so well how to appreciate talent, having had occasion to notice his abilities, took him into his service. In a conversation one day with Reginald Pole, Cromwell spoke slightly of the notions of vice and virtue held by men who dwelt in academic shades away from the world, and said that the business of the man who would rise was to divine if possible the real thoughts and wishes of his prince, and gratify them in such a manner as to save all appearances. He also praised Machiavel, and offered to lend him that

* Only a few years before, Louis XII. of France had been divorced in order to enable him to marry Anne of Bretagne. In our own day we have seen a similar favour conferred on Napoleon.

writer's 'Prince.' Pole, who was really an upright virtuous man, and who cordially detested the principles that work appeared to inculcate, and which he inferred were those on which Cromwell acted, instantly conceived the worst opinion possible of him; and that opinion has been of course propagated by all the writers of his communion, while Protestants are perhaps too anxious to justify the conduct of so important an agent in the Reformation. Cromwell was in fact an ambitious man, and little scrupulous about means, provided he could gratify the wishes of his royal master.

Cromwell, who had been appointed by Wolsey to manage the revenues of the monasteries which that prelate had dissolved with the papal approbation, had imbibed no very high notions of the rights and authority of the holy see. He now boldly advised Henry to take to himself the supremacy over the church and clergy of England. Henry listened with approbation. As Wolsey had not pleaded the royal permission for exercising his legatine authority, the whole of the clergy were liable to the penalty of a *præmunire* for having submitted to it, and proceedings accordingly were instituted against them. Flagrantly unjust as this procedure was, they saw no remedy but that of purchasing indemnity; and when the convocation met (1531) they voted the king 100,000*l.*, under the name of a benevolence for his services in writing against Luther and protecting the church. But this peace-offering did not suffice, and after some opposition, they were obliged to acknowledge him as supreme head of the church of England, *as far as the law of Christ will allow*. A formal indemnity was then granted to them. The connection between the papacy and the English clergy was thus nearly dissolved; and in the parliament of the following year (1532) a further blow was given to the influence of the court of Rome, by a bill reducing the first-fruits to be paid by bishops to five per cent. on the net income of the see, and adding that, if the bull of consecration was withheld on account of them,

the bishop-elect should be consecrated by a mandate from the crown, and all interdicts and other censures be disregarded. Other measures against the papacy were proposed, but the appearance of the plague caused a prorogation. At this time sir Thomas More, who was sincerely devoted to the church, seeing whither the king and parliament were tending, desired, and with some difficulty obtained, permission to resign the great seal. It was then given to sir Thomas Audeley.

But while the clergy were thus made to infringe on the claims of the head of the church, they were left full power to persecute those who rejected the real presence and derived their religion from the Scriptures. At this time Thomas Bilney, a fellow of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, was burnt as a heretic at Norwich; and Richard Bayfield, a Benedictine monk, James Bainham, of the Middle Temple, and a tradesman named Tewksbury underwent the same fate in Smithfield.

For a person of his temper, and in love with one whose virtue was invincible, Henry had shown marvellous patience. But that patience was now nearly exhausted. Hitherto he had treated Catherine with all due respect as his queen; but when she could not be induced to withdraw her appeal to Rome, it was signified to her (July 14, 1531,) that she must leave Windsor, where the court then was, and retire to one of three abodes which were specified. She replied, "that to whatever place she might remove nothing could remove her from being the king's lawful wife." She went from one place to another, and finally fixed at Ampthill in Bedfordshire. The pope wrote to expostulate with Henry for thus putting away his queen; but he received rather a sharp reply. It was then proposed to cite Henry again to Rome. On hearing of this, the king sent thither as his *excusator* sir Edward Karne, who was accompanied by one Edmund Bonner, afterwards so notorious. Karne purchased over some of the leading cardinals; but still the pope shuffled and twisted; and at length

Karne told him that, as the church of England was an independent church, the matter could be decided without any reference to him whatever. Henry himself had an interview with the king of France, to confirm their friendship and alliance; and on the death of that estimable prelate archbishop Warham (Aug. 22), he resolved to confer the see of Canterbury on Cranmer, who had now been for some time resident ambassador at the imperial court.

Cranmer had by this time embraced most of the reformed doctrines; he had moreover formed a matrimonial union with the niece of Osiander, one of the German divines. He saw the difficulties which environed him, and would most willingly have declined the proffered honour; but he had to deal with one who would not lightly suffer his will to be disputed. He made all the delay he possibly could, and did not reach England till the month of November. He tried to turn Henry from his purpose, by stating that if he received the dignity it must be from the pope, which he neither would nor could do, as the king was the only governor of the church in all causes, temporal or spiritual. Henry, unable to overcome this objection, took the opinion of some eminent civilians on it, and they advised that the prelate elect should, previous to taking the oath to the pope, make a solemn protest that he did not consider himself thereby bound to do anything contrary to the law of God or his duty as a subject. Cranmer, whose modesty and diffidence always led him to receive with deference the opinions of those learned in their profession, ceased from opposition. The king applied at Rome for the pall and the usual bulls. Clement, aware of Cranmer's principles, hesitated at first, but he finally sent them. The consecration was appointed to take place on the 30th of March, 1533, in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster. On that day Cranmer went into the chapter-house, and in the presence of five most respectable witnesses made his protest; he then proceeded to the chapel, where the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter and St. Asaph stood ready to perform the cere-

mony. He there again declared that he would take the oath only as limited by his protest, and on receiving the pall he made this declaration for the third time. Cranmer thus attained the highest dignity in the English church in the forty-fourth year of his age, and within four years of the time when he became first known to the king.

Opinions are divided with regard to the conduct of Cranmer on this occasion: we ourselves highly condemn the principle on which he acted, and agree with Dr. Lingard, that "oaths cease to offer any security if their meaning may be qualified by previous protestations made without the knowledge of the party who is principally interested*." But at the same time we are fully convinced that Cranmer was satisfied in conscience of the rectitude of his proceeding, and that Clement must have known in his heart that the new prelate would not and could not take the oath of canonical obedience unreservedly.

Either the virtue of Anne had at length yielded, and its consequences would soon be apparent, or the passion of the king would brook no longer delay. In the autumn of the preceding year he had raised her to the dignity of marchioness of Pembroke; he now resolved to advance her to the throne. Early in the morning of the 25th of January, 1533, he was secretly married to her by Dr. Rowland Lee, one of his chaplains.

On Easter-eve Anne appeared as queen, and on the 8th of May Cranmer and those appointed to act with him repaired to Dunstable, within six miles of Ampthill, to hold a court for trying the question of the divorce. As Catherine took no notice of the citation, she was pronounced contumacious; the former evidence was all gone through again, and on the 23rd of May the marriage between Henry and Catherine was pronounced to have been null and void from the commencement. On Whit-Sunday (June 1) Anne was

* In 1526, Francis I. before signing the treaty of Madrid made a secret protest against it, and the pope felt no hesitation in freeing him from the oath.

crowned by the primate. Neither menaces nor promises could ever induce Catherine to forego what she deemed her right, and she insisted to the last on being treated as queen by all who approached her.

When the news of what had been done reached Rome the conclave was furious; but the wary pontiff would go no further than to declare Cranmer's sentence null, and Henry's second marriage illegal: a threat of excommunication was added, if he did not replace matters on their former footing. Clement's thoughts were now engrossed by a project for marrying his niece, the famous Catherine de' Medici, to the duke of Orleans, son of the king of France, who was on terms of great amity with Henry, and whom he was loath to offend. At the interview which took place in the following October between the pontiff and the king at Marseilles, when the marriage was celebrated, Francis exerted himself to effect an arrangement between the former and the king of England. Clement seemed inclined to gratify Henry, provided he returned to his obedience. Bonner however, who was Henry's agent there, when he found that he could get no definite answer from the pope, presented (Nov. 7) an appeal to a general council, with which he was entrusted. Clement was highly indignant, and rejected it as being unlawful.

On the 7th of September*, in her 8th month, Henry's new queen had been safely delivered of a princess, who was baptized with great pomp by the name of Elizabeth, after her paternal grandmother, the primate and the duchess-dowager of Norfolk and marchioness-dowager of Dorset standing sponsors. Soon after she was declared princess of Wales, as her sister Mary had been, though she was only presumptive heiress to the throne.

It is melancholy to observe how the sanguinary spirit of the church of Rome still continued to prevail in England.

* That this, and not the 13th, as stated by Cranmer, is the true date, is put beyond question by the queen's own letter in the State Papers, i. 407, and by the calendars to the Book of Common Prayer in the reign of Elizabeth.

On the 4th of July in this year the flames consumed two more victims offered to the popish Moloch. The one was John Frith, one of the Cambridge men whom Wolsey had removed to his new college at Oxford, and the intimate friend of Tyndal, who was now engaged in translating and printing the Scriptures at Antwerp. Frith denied both transubstantiation and purgatory; he had put his sentiments on the former subject in writing, and the paper was treacherously conveyed to sir T. More, who attempted to refute it; and this drew forth a masterly reply from Frith, who was now a prisoner in the Tower. He was brought (June 20) before Stokesley bishop of London, who was assisted by Gardiner (lately raised to the see of Winchester,) and Longland of Lincoln. He maintained his opinions. His judge delivered him over to the secular powers, "most earnestly requiring them, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done on thee may be so moderate that the rigour thereof be not extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated; but that it may be to the salvation of the soul, to the extirpation, terror and conversion of heretics, and to the unity of the catholic faith;" the plain meaning of which hypocritical and blasphemous cant is, that he was to be roasted to death with all gentleness and moderation. Frith suffered with the greatest constancy in Smithfield; and with him was burnt a tailor's apprentice named Andrew Hewit, whose natural sense had revolted against the corporal presence in the sacrament.

In the succeeding parliament (1534) rapid progress was made in casting off the yoke of Rome; provisions, bulls, etc. were abolished; no money was to be sent to Rome; monasteries were subjected to the king alone; bishops were to be elected on a *congé d'élire* from the crown. A law was passed to regulate the succession to the throne. In this the marriage with Catherine was declared unlawful and void, and that with Anne was confirmed; the crown was to descend to the issue of this marriage, and any person who

did anything in derogation of the lawfulness of the king's marriage with queen Anne, or to endanger the succession as thus limited, was to suffer death as a traitor.

An oath was enjoined to be taken by all persons to maintain this order of succession, under penalty of the consequences of misprision of treason. The bishop of Rochester and Sir T. More were the only persons of note who refused to take this oath ; but they only objected to the preamble, asserting the nullity of the king's former marriage, and offered to swear without reservation to the succession as proposed. They were both committed to the Tower.

Fisher had already been punished for the countenance he had given to a notorious imposture. There was a woman at Aldington in Kent, named Elizabeth Barton, who was subject to hysterical fits, in which she used to utter much incoherent rhapsody. The priest of the parish, one Masters, thought that these ravings might be turned to a profitable account. He affected to regard them as inspirations of the Holy Spirit, and going to primate Warham, who was at that time living, reported the case, and received directions from the pious but credulous prelate to watch her future trances and give him an account of them. Masters gradually induced the poor woman to counterfeit these trances, and to utter in them what he should direct her. His great object was to make an image of the Virgin which stood in a chapel of his parish an object of pilgrimage, and consequently of emolument to himself ; Elizabeth therefore was instructed to say that the Virgin had appeared to her, and declared, that if she went to the chapel of Court-at-Street she would be cured. The news was spread, and on the appointed day more than two thousand persons assembled to witness the miracle, which took place in due form, and they went away satisfied of the sanctity of the image. Elizabeth was now (1526) removed to Canterbury, where she took the veil, and Dr. Bocking, a monk of Christ-church and a confederate of Masters, became her ghostly director.

Others were now taken into the confederacy ; the visions

and revelations of the seer became more numerous, and one Deering made a book of them, which the primate put into the hands of the king, who showed it to sir Thomas More, by whom they were pronounced to be silly stuff. No further notice was taken of her till the question of the divorce and separation from Rome came to be warmly agitated. She was then put forward again; a monk wrote a letter in gold characters, which she was to pretend had been given her by Mary Magdalen, and she was also taught to assert, that when the king was at Calais in 1532, she was invisibly present as he was hearing mass, and an angel had brought her the holy wafer from the priest. These fictions were merely intended to gain her credit with the people, and then the visions of real importance were to be produced. An angel now came to her desiring her to go to the infidel king, and order him to do three things; to leave his rights to the pope, to destroy the folk of the new opinion, to keep his lawful wife. She also declared that if the king married Anne Boleyn he would not retain the throne more than a month, and would die a villain's death. Two agents of the pope now countenanced her, and bishop Fisher was so weak as to become one of her secret advisers. More too had an interview with her, in which he asked her to pray for him, and he expressed his belief that heaven was working "some good and great things by her." Queen Catherine's chaplain Abel also communicated with the seer. It would also seem that the Observant Friars, whom Henry VII. had greatly favoured, were engaged in the conspiracy. It was in their chapel at Sion House that More saw her; and when in the summer of this year Henry was at Greenwich, father Peto of their order preaching before him likened him and the queen to Ahab and Jezebel, and bade him beware lest the dogs should lick his blood. Henry bore this insolence with patience, and only directed that Dr. Curwin should preach the following Sunday in reply. In his sermon Curwin called Peto abundance of foul names, when another friar named Elstow, who was sitting in the

rood-loft*, burst out into a torrent of invective, and was only silenced by the voice of the king. The next day the two friars were summoned before the council and reprimanded. Cromwell told them they deserved to be tied in a sack and flung into the Thames. "Threaten such things," said Elstow, with a bitter smile, "to rich and dainty folk which are clothed in purple, fare delicately, and have their chief hope in the present world; we esteem them not when for the discharge of our duty we are driven hence. Thank God, we know the way to heaven to be as near by water as by land; nor care we therefore by which of these two roads we travel thither." Who can question the sincerity of these men?

It was deemed advisable to arrest the Holy Maid of Kent and her accomplices. By the efforts of Cranmer, Cromwell, and a zealous divine named Hugh Latimer, their arts were traced out, and when brought before the star-chamber they made a voluntary confession. They were transmitted to Canterbury, and there during sermon-time exposed on a stage in the churchyard and rebuked by the preacher. They underwent a similar exposure at St. Paul's cross in London, and were made to read out a confession of their imposture. They were then sent to the Tower, and as it was found that the popish party was tampering with the nun to get her to deny all she had said, they were attainted of treason. The nun, Masters, Bocking, and three others were executed at Tyburn (Apr. 21). She owned her guilt, but justly said that her accomplices, who were learned men, were more to blame than she, "a poor wench without learning." As the Observants persisted in assailing the king's divorce, their order was suppressed in the course of the year.

The king's supremacy was now generally acknowledged, and the rupture with Rome may be regarded as complete. But the regular clergy were highly dissatisfied with the

* The place where the rood or crucifix was placed: it was over the entrance to the chancel.

change. The first symptoms of resistance appeared at the Charterhouse in London, the inmates of which, persuaded that the admission of the papal supremacy was necessary for salvation, had sought to instil this belief into the minds of their penitents. These fanatic monks prepared themselves for martyrdom in what they believed to be the cause of truth; the priors of two other houses came and joined them; the system of resistance to the government was gradually organized, and if not checked in time might spread over the whole kingdom. The three priors and three others were therefore arrested and tried for high treason; the jury hesitated to find such holy men guilty, but Cromwell forced them by menaces to give the verdict he desired. They were executed at Tyburn (May 4, 1535). Three more Carthusians at London and two at York suffered the same fate shortly after. About the same time fourteen Dutch reformers who had taken refuge in England were burnt as anabaptists.

More illustrious victims were now to bleed. Fisher and More had lain for upwards of a twelvemonth in the Tower. The former, a man far advanced in life, would perhaps have been suffered to end his days in prison, were it not that Paul III., the successor of Clement, thought fit to subject him to the suspicions of the government by raising him to the dignity of cardinal (May 21). Fisher, now on the verge of eternity, made light of the honour: "If the red hat," said he, "were lying at my feet I would not stoop to pick it up." The king, on the other hand, is said to have declared that "the pope might send him a cardinal's hat, but that he should have no head to wear it." He was arraigned (June 17) before the chancellor, the judges and some of the peers, on a charge of having denied the king's supremacy, and was sentenced to die as a traitor. On the morning of his execution (22nd) he had himself dressed with great care. "My lord," said his servant, "surely you forget that after the short space of some two hours you must strip off these things and never wear them more."

“What of that?” replied he; “dost thou not mark that this is my wedding-day?” On account of his infirmities he was carried on a chair to the place of execution. He held in his hand a New Testament, which he opened at a venture and lighted on this passage: “And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. I have glorified thee on earth, I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.” He closed the book, saying, “Here is learning enough for me to my life’s end.” He mounted the scaffold without aid, briefly addressed the spectators, telling them he came to die for the faith of Christ’s holy catholic church, then meekly laid his head on the block, and it was severed from his body at a single blow; and thus perished this venerable, upright and pious prelate, a martyr to the rights of conscience.

It had probably been hoped that this severity toward Fisher would have the effect of intimidating More, whose acquiescence in the new order of things it was thought of the utmost importance to gain. But as no such result followed, he also was arraigned (July 1) for imagining to deprive the king of his title and dignity. His refusal to answer some ensnaring questions which had been previously put to him was pronounced to be malicious; Rich, the solicitor-general, was base enough to give in evidence such expressions as he had drawn from him in a confidential interview, the truth of which however the prisoner denied, and which two persons who were present said they did not hear. He was notwithstanding pronounced guilty. When asked what he had to say why judgement should not be given against him, he asserted that the act on which he was indicted was repugnant to the laws of God and his holy church, the supreme government of which no temporal prince might presume to take on himself, it being granted by our Saviour himself only to St. Peter and his successors, bishops of the same see. The chancellor observed, that, seeing that the bishops, the universities, and best learned

men in the realm had agreed to it, it was much marvelled that he alone should oppose it. More replied, that if numbers were to decide, most bishops and good men, both of those who were now alive and those who were glorified saints in heaven, would be found to be on his side. Sentence was then passed on him, and he was re-conducted to the Tower.

At the Tower wharf his favourite daughter Margaret Roper was waiting to meet him. When she beheld him she rushed through the guards, threw her arms about his neck and kissed him. He gave her his blessing and comforted her. She retired, but overcome by filial affection she ran back, took him again by the neck and kissed him several times "most lovingly." She then finally departed with a heavy heart, most of the bystanders shedding tears at this beautiful instance of natural affection.

On the 6th of July his friend sir Thomas Pope came to him early in the morning with directions from the king and council to prepare himself to die by nine o'clock. "Master Pope," said More, "I have been always much bounden to the king's highness for the benefits and honours that he hath still from time to time most bountifully heaped upon me; and yet more bounden am I to his grace for putting me into this place, where I have had convenient time and space to have remembrance of my end. And, so help me God, most of all, master Pope, am I beholden to his highness that it pleaseth him so shortly to rid me out of all the miseries of this wretched world, and therefore will I not fail earnestly to pray for his grace both here and in the world to come." Pope then told him that it was the king's wish that he should not make any address at his execution. More requested him to intercede with the king to allow his daughter Margaret Roper to be present at his burial; Pope assured him that the king was content that his wife and his family and friends should be present at it. "Oh, how much beholden then am I unto his grace," said More, "that unto my poor burial vouchsafest to have so gracious

consideration !” Sir Thomas Pope then took leave of him with tears.

More now put on his best apparel, “as one that had been invited to a solemn feast,” but at the suggestion of the lieutenant he changed it. On coming to the scaffold, observing it to be weak and shaking, he said in his usual jocosose manner, “I pray you, master lieutenant, see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself.” He called on the people to pray for him, and to bear witness that he suffered death in and for the faith of the catholic church. He then knelt down and prayed; when he rose, the executioner as usual asked his forgiveness. “Pluck up thy spirits, man,” said he, “and be not afraid to do thine office. My neck is very short; take heed therefore thou strike not awry, for saving of thy honesty” [honour]. As he knelt at the block, he bade the executioner to stay till he had put his beard aside; “for,” said he, “it never committed treason.” He prayed to himself, and the axe descending terminated his mortal existence in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

None of the many violent acts which Henry committed has brought such obloquy on him as the execution of sir Thomas More. For exclusively of his having suffered in the cause of the papacy, More was a scholar and a distinguished member of the republic of letters. A general outcry was therefore raised by the friends of literature and the papacy. Erasmus published under a feigned name an interesting narrative of his martyrdom, while Reginald Pole seized with avidity the occasion of pouring forth a torrent of declamation against Henry, whom the historian Giovio compares for this deed to Phalaris. The emperor told sir Thomas Elliot, the English ambassador, that he would rather have lost the best city in his dominions than such a counsellor. The English resident in Spain wrote that the greatest horror was felt there at the fate of the “thrice greatest” More and the holy maid of Kent—a union which does no great credit to the former. Posterity

have echoed these censures, and the judicial murder of More (as it certainly was) passes for one of the blackest deeds ever perpetrated.

Let us endeavour without prejudice to estimate the character of this eminent man. More was in private life the pattern of every social and domestic virtue; his piety was sincere and void of ostentation; in integrity and firm adherence to the dictates of conscience no man ever exceeded him. He was a good speaker, an elegant writer, and a well-read scholar: his conversation abounded with innocent pleasantry. Such were his merits. On the other hand, his jocularities frequently bordered on buffoonery*; his religion was akin to abject superstition, and he persecuted without remorse those who presumed to differ from the church†. In his controversial writings he indulged in the grossest scurrility. His greatest work, the *Utopia*, has we think been well described as giving us “the impression of having proceeded from a very ingenious, rather than a profound mind,” and such in fact his mind was. Perhaps this is evinced by the circumstance, that More alone, among the lay scholars of his time, seems to have had a sincere belief in the doctrines of popery. To sum up his character, he was a devout, upright, sincere, amiable, learned and ingenious man, good rather than great. What the poet says of Wolsey, that ‘his overthrow heap’d happiness upon him,’ may be applied to More. If he had not died the victim of a tyrant, this fame would never probably have attained its present eminence.

* “I cannot tell,” says Halle, “whether I should call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man; for undoubtedly he, beside his learning, had a great wit; but it was so mingled with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken of except he had ministered some mock in the communication.”

† See Appendix (D).

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY VIII. (CONTINUED.)

1535—1538.

Visitation of convents.—Death of queen Catherine.—Trial and execution of queen Anne.—Risings of the peasantry.—Death of queen Jane.—Suppression of the monasteries.—Reginald Pole.

WHEN intelligence of the deaths of More and Fisher reached Rome, the indignation of the pope and cardinals was boundless; and on the 30th of August a “terrible thundering bull,” as it is termed by Father Paul, was prepared. By this, if Henry did not retrace his steps, he and all his abettors were cited to appear at Rome within ninety days, under pain of excommunication; he was to be dethroned, his subjects released from their allegiance, his kingdom placed under interdict; the issue of Anne was declared illegitimate; all commerce with foreign states was forbidden, and all treaties with them annulled; the clergy were ordered to depart the kingdom, the nobility to take arms against their king! Such is the spirit of popery; it fosters rebellion, it commands bloodshed and carnage, sooner than yield even one of its impious pretensions. Henry took due precautions to prevent the bull from getting into his dominions; he drew more closely the bonds of alliance with France, and he entered into relations with the German Protestants*, whose leading divines he invited over to England. The vacant dioceses of Salisbury, Worcester, St. Asaph, Hereford, and Rochester, were respectively conferred on Shaxton, Latimer, Barlow, Fox the almoner, and Hilsey, superior of the Black Friars in London,—all professors of the new opinions.

The monks and friars, who saw their own ruin in the new state of things, were strongly opposed to the separa-

* They were so named from having “protested” against the decree of the Diet at Spire, in 1529, forbidding innovation in religion.

tion from Rome, and both secretly and openly excited the people against the changes. The suppression of at least a large number of their convents,—a measure of which Wolsey, with the pope's permission, had already given the example,—was resolved on. The king, as head of the church, appointed Cromwell his vicar-general for the visitation of the religious corporations, with power to nominate his deputies; and in October the visitors, armed with most ample inquisitorial powers, set out on their mission. They found, as was to be expected, feuds and factions and disorders of every kind, and in several the grossest immorality, lewdness and debauchery, while pious frauds and false relics beguiled the credulity of the people. At the same time, many, especially the larger abbeyes, were quite free from all gross irregularities. Some, terrified by a consciousness of guilt, made a voluntary surrender of their revenues; that of Langden, whose superior the visitor had, we are told, caught in bed with a young woman, setting the example. In all the convents of both sexes the inmates under the age of four-and-twenty were set at liberty, if they desired it, of which permission many victims of avarice and family pride took advantage; for here, as wherever monachism prevails, the younger children of a family were compelled to take the vows, in order that the fortune of the eldest son might not be diminished. The report of the visitors was soon after published, and the crimes of the religious were exposed, with no doubt some exaggeration*; a feeling was thus excited against them, and when parliament met (Feb. 1536) an act was passed

* "*Criminibus religiosorum partim detectis partim confictis*," says Sanders with more impartiality than one might have expected.

It is probable that the nunneries were much purer than the convents of the other sex. Yet even *they* were not immaculate. The following curious passage occurs in one of Henry's letters to Anne Boleyn, written probably in 1528 (Hearn's Avesbury, p. 357.): "As touching the matter of Wilton, my lord cardinal hath had the nuns before him and examined them, Mr. Bell being present, which hath certified me that for a truth that she hath confessed herself (which we would have had abbess), to have had two children by two

for suppressing all monasteries possessing less than 200*l.* a year, and giving their property and estates to the king. The number suppressed was three hundred and seventy-six; their annual income was 32,000*l.*, and their property was valued at 100,000*l.* The universities also were visited, and the course of study in them was changed.

On the 8th of January, 1536, queen Catherine breathed her last at Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before her death she dictated a letter to the king, styling him "her most dear lord, king and husband," advising him to attend to his spiritual concerns, assuring him of her forgiveness, commending their daughter to his care, and making a few trifling requests. She thus concluded: "Lastly, I make this vow, that mine eyes have desired you above all things." Henry was moved even to tears with this last proof of the affection of one whom he once had loved, and whom he had never ceased to esteem. He gave orders that her funeral should be suited to her birth, but he would not permit her to be buried, as she desired, in a convent of the Observants: the ashes of the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel repose at Peterborough. Her character remains the object of respect to all parties as that of an upright, pious and virtuous matron, with the single drawback, in the estimation of the unprejudiced, that she persisted to her death in the assertion of a falsehood.

It could not be expected that queen Anne should feel much grief at the death of one whom she must have regarded as a rival, but she might have abstained from an

sundry priests, and further since hath been kept by a servant of the lord Broke that was, and that not long ago."

Still however we think that the following description of nunneries quoted by Hallam (Mid. Ages, iii.) from Clemangis, a French theologian of the fifteenth century, would not apply to those of England:—"Quid aliud sunt hoc tempore puellarum monasteria nisi quædam, non dico Dei sanctuaria, sed Veneris execranda prostibula, sed lascivorum et impudicorum juvenum ad libidines explendas receptacula? ut idem sit hodie puellam velare quod et publice ad scortandum exponere."

indecent expression of joy*. How short-sighted are mortals ! She probably deemed her state now secure, yet she was standing on the brink of the precipice over which she was to be ere long precipitated.

On the 29th of January Anne was delivered of a still-born male child, for which misfortune Henry is said to have reproached her brutally. She had in fact lost his capricious affections, which, as in her own case, had been transferred to one of her attendants, Jane, the daughter of sir John Seymour ; and as it was a peculiarity in the character of this tyrant to marry instead of trying to seduce the women to whom he took a fancy, he was now on the look-out for a pretext to divorce his queen. Anne, who was aware of his passion for her maid, had reproached him with it on more than one occasion. The king's desire to frame a plausible charge against her was well known at court ; the sprightliness of the queen's temper bordered on levity, some little matters which resulted from it were reported to him with exaggeration, and by him greedily received. A commission was issued (Apr. 25) to several noblemen and judges, among whom was her own father, to investigate the affair. On May-day there was a tilting-match at Greenwich before the king and queen, in which her brother lord Rochfort, and Norris groom of the stole, were principal actors. In the midst of it something occurred which disturbed the king† ; he rose abruptly, quitted the gallery, and set out with a few attendants for Westminster. The queen also rose and retired to her apartments, where she remained in great anxiety. Next day she entered her barge and was proceeding to Westminster ; on the river she was met by her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and some other lords of the council, and con-

* " Anne Boleyn wore yellow for the mourning of Catherine of Aragon." (Halle, Sanders.)

† The story of her dropping her handkerchief, and Norris taking it up and wiping his face with it, is told by Sanders, and is probably one of his lies. Lingard quotes it without naming his authority.

ducted to the Tower on a charge of adultery and treason. She asserted her innocence in the strongest terms. At the gate of that fatal fortress she fell on her knees and said, "O Lord, help me, as I am guiltless of this whereof I am accused!" When the lords were gone, she said to the lieutenant, "Mr. Kingston, shall I go into a dungeon?" "No, madam," said he, "you shall go into your lodging that you lay in at your coronation." "It is too good for me," she replied; "Jesu, have mercy on me!" and she knelt down and wept, and then burst into laughter, the usual effect of hysterics, for such appears to have been the effect of her sudden misfortunes on her frame. Her aunt lady Boleyn, and Mrs. Cousins, with both of whom she was on ill terms, lay in the room with her, with directions to draw her into discourse and to report all that she said.

Cranmer had been directed by the king to come to Lambeth, but not to approach the court. His constitutional timidity did not prevent him from making an effort for his lovely and unhappy patroness, and on the 6th he wrote a persuasive letter to Henry. On that same day Anne herself wrote to her hard-hearted lord that beautiful letter which is still extant, every line of which breathes the consciousness of innocence and the purity of virtue*; but justice or mercy had now no room in the heart of Henry.

At the same time with the queen were arrested her brother lord Rochfort, and Norris, with sir Francis Weston and William Brereton, gentlemen of the privy chamber, and Mark Smeaton, a musician, who had been made a groom of the chamber for his musical talents. On the 10th an indictment was found by the grand jury at Westminster against the queen and them for high treason, as by a forced interpretation of the statute 25 Edw. III. the adultery with which they were all charged was made out

* Lingard denies the genuineness of this letter. Has he read or does he despise the arguments of Mackintosh (ii. 194. 364.) in its favour?

to be. On the 12th the four commoners were tried before a common jury and found guilty. The three gentlemen affirmed the queen's innocence and their own; Smeaton pleaded guilty, most likely induced so to do by some promise of mercy. When the king heard that Norris refused to confess, he cried, "Hang him up then! hang him up then!"

Three days after (15th) the queen and her brother were tried in the hall of the Tower. Their uncle of Norfolk presided, and six-and-twenty other peers (among whom, it is to be feared, was their father*,) sat in judgement. The queen had no counsel; she was only attended by her ladies: her countenance was cheerful and serene. When directed to lay aside the insignia of her rank, she complied, saying that she had never misconducted herself toward the king. She readily answered all the charges made against her; those not in the secret anticipated an acquittal; but a majority of the peers, on their honour, pronounced the brother and sister guilty of incestuous adultery, and she was sentenced to be burnt or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When she heard this sentence, she raised her hands, and cried, "O Father and Creator! O thou who art the way, the truth and the life! thou knowest that I have not deserved this death." She then addressed her judges, and with dignity and calmness solemnly protested her innocence†. Rochfort was then tried. "There was brought against him as a witness," says Wyatt, "his wicked wife, accuser of her own husband to the seeking of his blood." He made a noble de-

* "To whom were adjoined twenty-six other peers, and among them the queen's father."—Harleian MSS. No. 2194.

† "The records of her trial and conviction have perished," says Lingard, "perhaps by the hands of those who respected her memory." "Had he read Burnet with any care," observes Hallam, "he would have found that they were seen by that historian."—In his last edition Lingard asserts that "we still possess the most important of the few documents seen by Burnet, and some others of which he was ignorant."

fence, but to no purpose, for his destruction was resolved on.

And what, it may be asked, was the evidence on which a queen of England was thus sentenced to an ignominious death? Lady Wingfield, who had been in her service, was said when on her death-bed to have made some communications to some one; as if any one when well paid could not swear that anything was said by a dead person. According to the disgusting language of the indictment the queen was in every case the seducer. The act of criminality with Norris was placed in October 1533, that with Brereton in the following December, with Weston in May 1534, with Smeaton in April 1535, with her brother in the last November*; and although all remained in her service, no proof was offered of any repetitions of the offence. Such evidence would not be attended to in the present days by any honest jury.

On the 17th Rochfort and the others were led to execution. Rochfort exhorted his companions to die with courage: he warned the bystanders not to trust in courts, states or kings, but in heaven alone, and he prayed for the king a long and happy life. They all died protesting their innocence except Smeaton, who was executed last, and may therefore still have had hopes of mercy. He said that he well deserved death; but this might only mean that he had calumniated others. When the queen was told next day what he had said, she indignantly exclaimed, "Has he not then cleared me from the public shame he has done me? Alas, I fear his soul will suffer from his false accusation."

An attempt, the true motive of which we cannot assign, to make the earl of Northumberland acknowledge a pre-contract with the queen having failed, the king and queen appeared by their proctors in the archiepiscopal court (17), and the unhappy primate had (with anguish of heart we

* Turner, from the Birch MSS. 4293.

make no doubt) to endure the mortification of pronouncing the marriage of his innocent friend utterly void, in consequence of certain just and legal impediments then confessed on her part*. Cranmer, who was appointed to be her confessor, had visited her the day before†. It was thought, even by herself, that she would only be banished, but her tyrant would not be so contented, and the fatal order came. All doubt and fear were now at an end. "I have seen," says Kingston, "many men and also women executed, and that they have been in great sorrow; to my knowledge this lady hath more joy and pleasure in death." She reviewed her past life, and it appearing to her that she had been rather harsh in her treatment of the lady Mary, she made lady Kingston sit in her chair of state, and kneeling before her, with tears expressed her sorrow and remorse, and made her promise that she would thus kneel before the princess and implore her forgiveness. "Mr. Kingston," said she, "I hear say I shall not die afore noon, and I am very sorry therefore; I thought to be dead and past my pain." He told her "it would be no pain, it was so subtle." She replied, "I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a *little neck*," and she put her hand about it, laughing heartily.

Next day (19th) a little before noon she was led to the scaffold, which was erected on the green within the Tower: all strangers were excluded. There were present the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond (the king's natural son), the chancellor, secretary Cromwell, the lord mayor and aldermen. She addressed her auditory in these words, probably suggested by Cranmer: "Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the law and by the law I am judged to die, and therefore I will speak nothing against it; I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak anything of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God save the king and send

* Wilkins, Concilia, iii. 803.

† Kingston's Letters in Cavendish.

him long to reign over you, for a gentler [nobler] nor more merciful prince was there never, and to me he was ever a good, gentle and sovereign lord; and if any person will meddle with my cause I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord, have mercy upon me! To God I commend my soul." Then calmly removing her hat and collar, she knelt down and said; "To Jesus Christ I commend my soul. 'Lord Jesu, receive my soul!'" One stroke of the sword terminated her existence. Her remains were thrown into an elm box and interred without ceremony in the chapel*.

Thus was completed this barbarous judicial murder, not to be paralleled in imperial Rome or the despotic East. That no doubts might remain as to his real motives, Henry married Jane Seymour the very next day. The lady Mary was now admitted to favour, on her signing articles acknowledging the king's supremacy and her own bastardy; but she honourably refused to give up the names of her friends and advisers, nor did the king insist on it. A parliament was summoned, which ratified all the late proceedings, and enacted whatever the king required.

In the convocation, where Cromwell presided as the king's representative, ten articles of faith were agreed on. It was an attempt to take a middle course between the two parties, and was therefore pleasing to neither.

The suppression of the monasteries, which was effected in this summer, caused great discontent among the people. The loss of the alms distributed at them was felt by the poor and idle; the many associations of superstition as well as piety connected with them were harshly broken asunder; the prospect of the decay of these sacred edifices, or their conversion into secular dwellings, was unpleasing; and moreover then, as at all times, the clergy had been the most lenient of landlords. The sight of the

* See Appendix (E).

ejected brethren, many of them advanced in years, wandering about the country, moved the people to pity, and they were assured that this was only the first step toward depriving them of all religion, and subjecting them to an unheard-of tyranny.

These discontents having fermented in their bosoms all through the summer, as soon as the harvest was completed the peasantry of Lincolnshire assembled in arms to the number of twenty thousand. Their leader was Dr. Mackrel, late prior of Barlings, who assumed the title of captain Cobler. They sent to the king a statement of their grievances, which included all the late changes made in the church; and complaining of the admission of low-born persons to the royal councils, (meaning Cranmer and Cromwell,) they prayed the king to assemble his nobility and devise remedies. The answer returned was the appearance of the duke of Suffolk, with a body of troops, preceded by a royal reproof of the presumption of "the rude commons of one shire, and that the most brute and beastly of the whole realm," in attempting to find fault with their prince for the electing of his counsellors and prelates, and commanding them to surrender their leaders and one hundred others, and then to go to their homes. By Suffolk's advice, however, a milder proclamation was afterwards put forth, and the insurgents finally dispersed.

The cause of this mildness was the breaking out of a far more formidable insurrection in the counties north of the Humber, where the people were more ignorant and superstitious than in the southern parts. The clergy had secretly instigated them, and the harsh collection of the subsidy granted in the late parliament gave the occasion. The gentry, who shared their feelings, hesitated to risk their lives and fortunes by coming forward openly, but they found an efficient leader in one Robert Aske, a lawyer of some property in Yorkshire. The insurrection was named the Pilgrimage of Grace; priests bearing crosses appeared in the van; their banner displayed on

one side the Redeemer, on the other the host and chalice ; on the sleeve of every pilgrim were wrought the five wounds of Jesus, with his holy name in the midst of them. Aske first laid siege to Pontefract, in which the archbishop of York and the lord Darcy had taken refuge. The gates were opened, through the influence of the prelate and peer, who secretly wished well to the insurgents, and after a decent show of reluctance took the oath by which the pilgrims were bound. York and Hull surrendered ; the castles of Skipton and Scarborough alone resisted.

The earl of Shrewsbury, though without orders, raised his tenantry to oppose the rebels. The royal commands to levy troops were obeyed by the marquess of Exeter and other nobles ; and at length the duke of Norfolk, as general of the royal forces, advanced to Doncaster. His army, which did not exceed five thousand men, was divided from that of the rebels, of forty thousand, by the river Don, which could only be passed by the bridge in the town or a ford at a little distance. The rebels, relying on their numbers, resolved to attempt to force the passage of the ford, but there fell so much rain in the night that it became impassable. The duke then sent a herald to Aske, who received him sitting in a chair of state, with the archbishop on one side of him and lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed that they should send two gentlemen to the king to learn his pleasure. After being detained for some time, the deputies returned with an offer of pardon to all but six who were, and four who were to be named. These terms were rejected ; new negotiations were then opened, but to no effect. The rebels once more prepared to force the ford, and again the rains swelled the stream. Their superstitious minds saw in this a withdrawal from them of the favour of Heaven ; they began to despond and to disperse, and the arrival of an act of amnesty caused them to retire to their homes. Aske was invited to court, where he was kindly treated ; but lord Darcy, who made some delay when summoned, was on his arrival cast into the Tower, as also was

lord Hussey, who was charged with favouring the Lincolnshire rebels.

The people of the north were, however, soon again in arms (1537), and eight thousand men, headed by Nicholas Musgrave and Thomas Tilby, gentlemen of Cumberland, attempted to surprise Carlisle. They failed, and in their retreat were met and defeated with great slaughter by the duke of Norfolk. Musgrave escaped; the other leaders were taken and hanged, with seventy inferior persons, on the walls of Carlisle. An attempt on Hull by sir Francis Bigot and a Mr. Halem had a similar success. Aske, who made his escape when he heard of the rising, was taken and hanged at York: several other gentlemen were executed at other places. The venerable lord Darcy was beheaded on Tower Hill, and lord Hussey at Lincoln. Six priors, among whom was Mackrel, were hung for their share in the rebellion. In the month of July a general amnesty was issued. One of the demands of the rebels was complied with; for a court was, by patent, erected at York for the decision of law-suits in the north.

To the joy of the king and kingdom queen Jane was delivered (Oct. 12) of a son, who was named Edward; but within a few days that joy was damped by the death of the mother, who died of a puerperal fever. The grief of the king was considerable, but it gave way to his satisfaction at the dangers of a disputed succession being now terminated. To the queen herself it may have been a fortunate event that nature, not the axe of injustice, terminated her mortal life; as a pretext would surely have been found for destroying her, if the despot's eye had been caught by some other object. The young prince was created prince of Wales; his uncle sir William Seymour, earl of Hertford; sir William Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton; sir William Paulet, lord St. John; sir John Russell, lord Russell.

Toward the close of the year, a book, entitled "The Godly and Pious Institute of a Christian Man," compiled

by the bishops and revised by the king, was published by the royal authority. It was divided into sections, treating of the Creed, the Sacraments, Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Justification and Purgatory, and contained as much of the reformed opinions as Cranmer and his friends were able to introduce into it. This year was also signalled by the publication, with the royal sanction, of the Bible, translated into English by Tyndale and Coverdale.

The suppression of the remaining monasteries was now finally resolved on. Their wealth made them an object of cupidity to the king and his rapacious courtiers; the reformers viewed them as the strongholds of popery, which they thought could never be eradicated while they were let to remain; the convents of the north had openly aided the late rebellion, and those of the south had secretly furnished the rebels with money. The visitations were renewed; threats and artifices were employed, frequently with success, to obtain surrenders. The religious themselves, in anticipation of the coming storm, had been making preparations to meet it; they embezzled the moveable property of their convents to a great extent; they renewed leases of the lands at low rents on receiving large fines: they had therefore often but little reluctance to give up their monastic seclusion; many of them were even glad to escape from the irksome monotony of a conventual life. Hence the crown met with but little opposition. Pensions, varying according to their rank and good conduct, were settled on the monks till they should receive livings in the church of equal dignity and value*. The suppression was effected in the course of two years, and the annual income

* "The pensions to the superiors appear to have varied from 266*l.* to 6*l.* per annum. The priors of cells received generally 13*l.*; a few, whose services merited the distinction, obtained 20*l.* To the other monks were allotted pensions of 6*l.*, 4*l.*, 2*l.*, with a small sum to each at his departure to provide for his immediate wants. The pensions to nuns averaged about 4*l.*"—*Lingard*. He acknowledges that money was of about ten times the value then that it is now. In the last edition of his history he more correctly says, "six or seven times."

which thus fell to the crown amounted to more than 130,000*l*.

The abbots of Glastonbury, Reading and Colchester, were executed on charges of having aided the northern rebels; the vices of others were made public, but still the people said these were the crimes of the individuals, not of the order. It was then determined to expose the false relics and the 'lying wonders' to be found in even the most respectable convents. Eleven houses, it was ascertained, possessed a girdle belonging to the Virgin; eight had some of her milk to show; one exhibited some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the ear cut by the sword of St. Peter from the head of Malchus gave fame to one, and the parings of the toe-nails of St. Edmund to another, in which also the penknife and boots of St. Thomas of Canterbury assured pregnant women of a safe delivery. The teeth of St. Apollonia, which cured the toothache, were so multiplied that when collected they filled a tun. At Reading there was the wooden image of an angel, with but one wing, which had flown into England with the spear-head that pierced our Saviour's side. The monastery at Hales in Gloucestershire had a vial containing a portion of the Redeemer's blood, to behold which pilgrims flocked from all quarters; but the votary often looked in vain for the beatific vision; his penitence, he was told, was incomplete; he had not purchased enough of masses; more money was paid, and at length perhaps his eyes were blessed with a sight of the divine blood. The secret was found to be, that the vial, which contained the blood of a duck, was opake on one side, and was turned about by the priests to suit their purpose. At Boxley in Kent was the crucifix named the Rood of Grace, which moved its head, eyes, lips, etc., all effected by secret cords and wires. These various impostures were exposed at St. Paul's, whither also were brought other idols from all parts of the country, among which came a huge rood from Wales, named Darvel Gatheren, to which large offerings used to

be made; an old prophecy had said that it should *burn a forest*, and in cruel mockery it was made to form part of the fire that consumed one friar Forest, who denied the supremacy*.

St. Thomas of Canterbury was proceeded against, and condemned as a traitor; his name was struck out of the calendar; his office was expunged from the breviary, and his bones were taken up and burnt; the skull was found with the rest, though the monks used to exhibit it to the pilgrims. His shrine was broken up, and the gold and jewels it contained filled two chests, and required eight men to carry them. There was a festival called the translation of his body celebrated every year, and a jubilee of fifteen days every fiftieth year, which drew a great concourse of pilgrims to Canterbury, one hundred thousand being known to have been there at one time; the offerings therefore were numerous; for the saints, like eastern kings, were not to be approached without a present. On his own ground this 'holy blissful martyr' so far eclipsed the Saviour and the Virgin, that of the three great altars there, that of Christ received one year only 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, that of the Virgin 63*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*, while the martyr's share was 832*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*: but the next year it was still worse; on Christ's altar nothing was offered, on the Virgin's but 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*, while St. Thomas's displayed 954*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*!

While the evils and frauds of the monastic institutions were thus sedulously displayed, care was taken to persuade the nation that the transfers of their revenues to the crown would be productive of inestimable public benefits. There would be an end they were assured of pauperism and taxation, as the revenues which the crown would now possess would enable it to maintain fleets and armies, to build fortresses, execute public works, maintain the court, and form institutions for learning and charity, without applying any more to the purses of the subjects. Fortunately for the

* We search the earlier editions of Lingard in vain for any allusion to these pious frauds. In his last edition he *does* allude to them.

public liberties, these splendid anticipations, as we shall see, were never realised.

With respect to the legal and moral character of the transaction, there are many points to be considered. If the Reformation was to proceed, the monasteries must be destroyed, as they were the strongholds of the dominant superstition. Property no doubt is sacred, of whatever kind it may be, and should not be touched without the most urgent state-necessity, to which even the rights of private and much more those of corporate property must give way. In the latter case it is however a principle, that the rights of the actual possessors, and of those who have a reasonable certainty of succeeding them, should be regarded; hence it is said that the abolition should have been gradual, that the convents should have been prohibited to receive any more members, and that as the actual members died off the revenues should fall to the crown. But this would have been inconsistent with the success of the great object proposed, as the popish party would thus have retained for many years the means of checking the progress of the Reformation, and the claims of justice were perhaps sufficiently satisfied by giving pensions, as was done, to the members of the suppressed convents. Again, it is said that the monastic lands should have gone to the representatives of the original donors; but where were they to be found? Who could prove himself, for instance, to be the heir of the baron or knight, who in the reign of Henry I. or II. gave lands to a monastery for the good of his soul? Besides, such a right of reversion is hardly ever contemplated; those who make grants or bequests of this kind part with all rights over them, which thus become subject to the control of the legislature. Lastly, it is said that the entire of these revenues should have been devoted to the support of religion and learning; but a fifth of the lands of the kingdom was by far too much for this purpose, though we will not say that it might not have been better if tithes had been abolished, and lands to the same amount

been retained for the support of the church. Yet many difficulties would probably have attended this plan, and perhaps under all circumstances no plan was preferable to the one which was adopted, that of sharing the lands among the nobility and gentry of the realm*.

This is said to have been a suggestion of Cromwell's, who, aware of the selfishness of human nature, knew that the surest way to make men adverse to Rome was to make it their interest to be so; and this effect was produced. One cannot, however, contemplate without disgust the unprincipled cupidity and rapacity of the vultures of the court, (though they were the founders of some of the noblest and wealthiest families now in the kingdom,) or the reckless prodigality of the monarch himself, who, for example, set a peal of church bells on a cast of the dice, gave, it is said†, the revenues of one convent to a woman who made a pudding to please his palate, and those of another to the man who set his chair in a commodious position for him before the fire. Some abbey lands were bestowed on the courtiers, others were sold or exchanged at such low rates as to differ little from gifts; and after all the magnificent prospects that had been held out, parliament was called upon the very year (1540) after it had vested the monastic property in the king, for a large subsidy, on account of the great expense of reforming the religion of the state—so completely had the voracious courtiers carried off the spoils of the church!

When we view the ruins of Fountains and other magnificent piles, the glory of architecture and pride of our island, it is impossible to suppress a sigh at such Vandalic devastation as was then committed, or to avoid wishing

* Latimer and other reformers pleaded in vain for the preservation of some of the convents. Hume justly thinks that many of the nunneries might have been retained as places of honourable retreat for single women. In vain did the gentry of the county plead for the blameless nunnery of Godstow near Oxford; purity and innocence were no defence against the rapacity of the king and his courtiers.

† Only, we believe, by Sanders.

that some more of these stately edifices had been preserved, and a portion of their revenues appropriated to their maintenance. But the very lead which roofed them sufficed to attract the royal cupidity. The abbot's house and offices were left standing for the use of the grantee or purchaser; the church and all the other buildings were stript and let to go to ruin. The destruction of books too was lamentable: the convent library was always given in with the bargain to him who obtained the house and lands. The books were torn up and used for the basest purposes, or they were sold to the shopkeepers; whole shiploads of vellum manuscripts were sent over sea for the use of the bookbinders. We are told by a contemporary that one tradesman purchased two libraries for forty shillings, and that the contents had lasted him in his business for ten years, and were likely to last him as much longer. Much loss has thus been sustained by English history, and perhaps by classical literature.

But the greatest injustice perpetrated at this time was in the case of the impropriated tithes. The regular clergy had gradually contrived to deprive the secular clergy of their tithes to the amount of two-fifths of the whole, appointing vicars with paltry stipends to do the duty. In all justice these should have reverted to their original destination, but they shared the fate of the other monastic revenues, and went, where they still remain, into the possession of laymen*. The more, in fact, we view the mode in which this secularisation of monastic property was effected, the more we are disgusted with the scandalous rapacity of those who were the principal gainers; for their subsequent conduct proved that religion was not their motive, as when a popish sovereign mounted the throne they readily returned to the ancient superstition on being secured in their lands. It certainly ill becomes the descendants of these men to

* It is, however, probably to this circumstance that the clergy are indebted for not being as yet pensioners on the state, or subjected to the misery and degradation of the voluntary system of payment.

look with contempt on the possessors of estates acquired by ability, prudence, and honourable diligence*.

In order to fulfil some part of the magnificent promises which had been made, Henry erected and slenderly endowed five new bishopricks. He completed Christ Church College at Oxford, and King's College at Cambridge, where he also founded Trinity College. A few grammar-schools and hospitals were established, and some money was laid out in public works.

When the intelligence of the suppression of the monasteries reached the Vatican, it excited the most unbounded wrath and indignation. Libels without number appeared at Rome, in which the impiety of the king of England was described as surpassing that of all the tyrants in history, sacred or profane: Julian alone was a parallel, as like him he was learned and a persecutor of the church he had left. Finally, the bull which had been prepared three years before, but had only been held over him *in terrorem*, was now issued, and all hopes of an accommodation were thus terminated.

One of the most active agents in the cause of the papacy at this time was a member of the blood-royal of England. Reginald Pole was the fourth son of Margaret countess of Salisbury, the daughter of George duke of Clarence, and therefore first cousin of Henry's mother. Henry had always treated this his young kinsman with the greatest affection; as he designed to enter the church and had a turn for literature, he supplied him with ample means for pursuing his studies at home and at Padua. In the affair of the divorce Pole's opinion was adverse to the king's wishes, and he had the manliness, in spite of the entreaties of his family to the contrary, to state to him both orally and in writing his reasons against it. This Henry took in good part, and at his request allowed him to return to Padua. He was residing there when Henry was declared to be the

* It will not, we trust, be deemed invidious, if we contrast Woburn Abbe and Drayton Manor.

supreme head of the English church; the books which Gardiner and Sampson wrote on this occasion were transmitted to him; and Pole, who was now devoted body and soul to the papacy, determined to answer them. Early in the following year he composed his work "*Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Defensione*," addressed to his benefactor, assailing him with a virulence of scurrility hardly exceeded by Luther in his worst moods. This work was communicated as he wrote it to two of his Italian friends and to the pope, by whose permission it was read by some other persons. His friends advised him in vain to soften the personalities. All this time, we may observe, Pole was receiving his pension from Henry, and continued making professions of his intentions to serve him. In the May of the next year he sent his book to Henry, by whom it was received just four days after his murder of Anne Boleyn. The king contented himself with directing his prelates to draw up a refutation of the facts which it set forth. A second edition of Gardiner's book "*De Vera Obedientia*" was published, to which Bonner put a preface in which the pope was abused in the most virulent terms. At the same time the king invited Pole to come over to explain some parts of his book; but he was not to be thus caught, and he was therefore deprived of his dignities and pensions.

In the winter Pole went to Rome by the invitation of the pope, who offered him a cardinal's hat; this honour however he declined, and his reasons satisfied the pontiff. But the imperial party had particular reasons for wishing him to be invested with this dignity; the papal orders, which on his own principles he could not disobey, were sent to him; and on the 22nd of December 1537 he with an unwilling heart became a member of the sacred college.

There is something remarkable in Pole's strong repugnancy to accept the highest dignity the pontiff could bestow, and in the efforts of the imperial ministers to have it forced on him. Is it not possible that Pole secretly aspired to the hand of the princess Mary and the throne of Eng-

land? The princess had been committed to the care of his mother the countess of Salisbury ; and Pole's friend and biographer Beccatelli tells us that queen Catherine, on whose conscience the murder of the innocent earl of Warwick to secure the succession to her offspring weighed heavy, had projected with the countess, who was Warwick's sister, that by way of reparation one of her sons should marry the princess and thus obtain the throne. Pole was one of the youngest of these sons, and he was Mary's favourite. The same biographer actually assigns this as a reason why the imperial ministers were so eager to have him made a cardinal. One of the charges made against his relations in 1539 was that of having devised to "maintain, promote and advance" him, and to deprive the king. In 1540, Damiano à Goes writing to Pole says of him, "Whom, if there be any truth in my auguries, we shall yet see king of England ;" and Pole in his reply does not absolutely reject the augury. Finally, when Mary mounted the throne, her marriage with Pole was in contemplation, and might have taken place, but for his advanced age and infirmities, and the arts of the emperor*.

Be this however as it may, Pole was now a member of the sacred college, and when the intelligence of the risings in England had reached the Vatican the office of legate beyond the Alps was conferred on him, and he was directed to proceed to Flanders to be at hand to foment the rebellion. On reaching Lyons he heard of its suppression and of his being proclaimed a traitor by Henry, who had set a reward of 50,000 crowns on his head. Though the king of France would not surrender him, he would not admit him to his presence ; the queen-regent of the Netherlands acted in a similar manner ; and he was obliged to fix his abode at Liège, whence after a stay of three months he returned to Rome, for though he had opened communications with the disaffected he found that nothing could be accomplished. He now remained for a year in Italy, and at the close of it

* See Turner's History of England, x. 420.

(Nov. 1538) he was sent as legate to Spain to try to excite the emperor to a crusade against his country. He however met with but a cool reception ; and he seems to have come to the conclusion that the papacy had in reality more to apprehend from Charles than Henry.

The cardinal, who was out of Henry's reach, might pursue his treasonable course in safety, but he thereby drew the monarch's vengeance on his family. At the time of his mission to Spain, his brother lord Montague, Courtenay marquess of Exeter, and sir Edward Neville were committed to the Tower on a charge of treason (Nov. 3). On the last day of the year the two peers were arraigned on a charge of devising to maintain and advance one Reginald Pole, the king's enemy, beyond the seas, and to deprive the king of his royal state and dignity. The chief witness against them was sir Geoffrey Pole, who having been arrested on some other charge, had attempted suicide, and when he failed in his attempt, had in remorse (probably the result of the weakness caused by loss of blood) revealed the treason of his family. They were found guilty and executed, as three days after were Neville, two priests and a sailor. Sir Geoffrey was tried and convicted with these last, but his life was spared for his services, and he was pardoned in the next reign. About three months later sir Nicholas Carew, master of the horse, was convicted and executed as an accomplice of the marquess. Though conviction in this reign is no certain proof of guilt, there seems to be little reason to doubt of the reality of this conspiracy.

CHAPTER V.

HENRY VIII. (CONTINUED.)

1538—1547.

Burning of Lambert.—Act of Six Articles.—King's marriage with Anne of Cleves.—His divorce.—Execution of Cromwell.—Catherine Howard.—War with France and Scotland.—Conspiracy against Cranmer.—Anne Askew.—Attempt to injure the queen.—Execution of lord Surrey.—Death of the king.—His character.

WHILE Henry was thus warring with the papacy on points of authority, he was strenuous in maintaining its most revolting doctrines, and another victim was at this time offered to the real presence. This was a man named Lambert, who had adopted the view of Zuinglius that the eucharist was merely commemorative. Hearing one day (1538) Dr. Taylor preach on the subject of transubstantiation he went to him and offered to argue the matter. Taylor, pleading want of leisure, desired him to put his thoughts in writing. Lambert was so incautious as to do so. Taylor showed the paper to Dr. Barnes, who like himself held the reformed opinions, but still believed in the real presence; and Barnes advised him to proceed against Lambert for heresy in the archiepiscopal court. On the trial Lambert appealed to the king, to whom Gardiner suggested that this was a good opportunity for clearing himself from the charge of encouraging heresy. Westminster Hall was accordingly prepared, the nobles were summoned from all parts. The king took his seat, the bishops on his right, the temporal peers on his left; the hall was filled with spectators; the prisoner came surrounded by armed men. Bishop Sampson having made a speech, the king put a few questions to the prisoner in a haughty tone. Cranmer, Gardiner, Tunstall, Stokesly, and six other bishops then argued success-

ively with him. He became exhausted; the king demanded whether he would live or die; he said he threw himself wholly on the royal mercy. Henry replied that he had none for heretics. Lambert persisted in his opinion, and Cromwell by the royal order read the sentence of death*. He was burnt shortly after (Nov. 20,) in Smithfield. Two Dutch anabaptists suffered also in the same place about this time.

It was, as we may have observed, the practice of Henry to carry all his measures under form of law, and indeed he found parliaments so very compliant that it would have been mere folly and wantonness in him to pursue any other course. The parliament met on the 28th of April 1539, and its acts perfectly accorded with the royal wishes.

An act of attainder against the marquess of Exeter and those executed with him was easily obtained, but the king wished to extend his vengeance to the whole of the cardinal's family. Cromwell was therefore directed to ask the judges whether a person might not be attainted without trial or confession. They replied that, though such a thing might not be done by the lower courts, a sentence passed by the high court of parliament would be good in law. This was enough; Pole's mother the venerable countess of Salisbury, his nephew the son of lord Montague, the marchioness of Exeter, sir Adrian Fortescue, and sir Thomas Dingley, were all included in a bill of attainder, and as it would seem without any proof: the two knights were executed, the countess was reprieved, the marchioness was pardoned.

An act was passed confirming the surrender of the monasteries. By another a formal surrender of the national

* "It was wonderful," writes Cromwell, "to see how princely, with how excellent gravity and inestimable majesty his highness exercised there the very office of supreme head of the church of England; how benignly his grace assayed to convert the miserable man; how strong and manifest reasons his highness alleged against him. I wish the princes and potentates of Europe to have had a meet place to have seen it."—Collier, ii. 152.

liberties was made, for the legislature gave to the king's proclamations the force of statutes of parliament.

But the great measure of this parliament was that respecting religious doctrines. As soon as it met a commission was appointed, consisting of Cromwell, the two archbishops, and the bishops of Durham, Bath, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle and Worcester, to prepare such articles of doctrine as might put an end to religious controversy. But as the two parties were nearly equal in the committee, there was no rational chance of their agreement. On the 16th of May, therefore, the duke of Norfolk proposed six questions to the house as necessary to be previously determined. Cranmer and his friends argued them vigorously on the reformed side; the opposite view was supported by Lee, Tunstall and the Romish party. On the second day Henry himself came down to the house; his presence, and most probably his words, silenced all opposition. Parliament was prorogued on the 24th: when it met again on the 30th, each party was required in the king's name to prepare a bill against the following Sunday. That of the Romish party received the royal approbation; the lords were directed to discuss it, and the Act of the Six Articles, 'the bloody statute,' or 'whip with six strings,' as it was commonly called, was passed (June 10).

These articles were as follows: 1. The natural body of Christ is present in the eucharist under the forms, but without the substance, of bread and wine; 2. Communion in both kinds is not necessary; 3. Priests may not marry; 4. Vows of chastity are to be kept; 5. Private masses should be retained; 6. Auricular confession is expedient and necessary. The penalty of opposing the first was death without mercy; the violation of the others was to be punished as felony. "Such," says Lingard, "were the enactments of this severe and barbarous statute." Latimer and Shaxton immediately resigned their sees, and they were both committed to the Tower. Numbers of other clergymen were cast into prison for having spoken

against the popish doctrines. But it is extraordinary to remark Henry's steadiness to Cranmer ; he assured him of his constant friendship, and at his desire the lords of parliament were entertained by him at Lambeth. The primate however bent before the storm, and sent his wife and children to Germany.

Henry was now in the second year of his widowhood, but the whole of this time he had been engaged in matrimonial treaties. The first was with the emperor for his niece the duchess-dowager of Milan, daughter of the king of Denmark ; but this was broken off, and Henry turned his views to France. It has generally been observed that in love people affect their opposites ; in Henry's eyes it seemed fitting that his wife should be of large dimensions to suit his own corpulence. He fixed his fancy on the duchess-dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guise ; but she was already contracted to the king of Scots, and Francis, refusing at Henry's solicitation to break off the match, sent her to Scotland. He offered him however Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome ; but as Henry heard that the Scottish king had refused her, he would not listen to this proposal. Francis then offered him his choice of the sisters of the queen of Scots, who fully equaled her in size. Henry proposed that they should have a conference at Calais, to which Francis should bring the finest ladies of his court ; but the delicacy of the French monarch would not allow him to treat the ladies of France as men, he said, did nags at a fair, where they were trotted out that the purchaser might choose. The negotiations therefore were broken off.

Henry now turned his thoughts to an alliance with one of the protestant princes of Germany, and Cromwell proposed to him Anne daughter of the duke of Cleves. A picture of her by Hans Holbein having satisfied him of her beauty, he made his proposals, which were accepted, and the princess was sent over to England. She landed on the last day of the year at Dover. On New Year's Day

(1540) she reached Rochester, whither the king's impatience had brought him to meet her. Great however was his consternation when he beheld her! Tall she was and large no doubt, but her features were coarse, her manners ungraceful, and she only spoke her native German. As he had viewed her unseen he had time to compose himself before he was announced. She knelt; he raised her and kissed her cheek, but he could not prevail on himself to deliver the presents he had brought. He retired to consult with his friends, to whom he swore that they had brought him a great Flanders mare. Next morning he rode back in melancholy mood to Greenwich. He there directed Cromwell to devise some mode of breaking off the marriage, but none could be found, and there was danger of offending the protestant princes. "There is no remedy," said the king in a sorrowful tone; "I *must* put my neck into the yoke." The marriage ceremony was performed (Jan. 6) by Cranmer, but the bride could make no progress in gaining the affections of her capricious lord.

Within his heart Henry had determined on divorcing his queen and destroying Cromwell, whom he regarded as the author of his calamity. Yet never apparently was Cromwell higher in his favour: he had made him knight of the garter and lord great chamberlain, an office hereditary in the family of Vere earls of Oxford; and on the second day after the meeting of parliament (April 14) which Cromwell had opened as usual, he received the earldom of Essex, which had just become extinct, and the estates belonging to it. But his enemies were numerous; the ancient nobility hated him as an upstart; the people regarded him as the cause of the high taxation; the Romish party viewed him with abhorrence on account of the dissolution of the monasteries; the reformers blamed him for suffering the act of Six Articles to pass. It seems too that the party opposed to him and the queen adopted the same tactics as had been employed against Catherine and Wolsey. At a dinner given to the king by Gardiner,

one of the company was Catherine Howard niece of the duke of Norfolk, a young lady small in person, not remarkably handsome, but extremely agreeable in manners. She contrasted favourably with the coarse Anne of Cleves, and her conquest of the royal heart was immediate. The king's hatred of Cromwell was thereby augmented, and by his directions the duke of Norfolk arrested the minister (June 10) at the council-board as a traitor. The iniquitous mode of proceeding by attainder, which he himself had been the instrument of introducing the last year, was adopted. He was charged with encroaching on the royal authority in divers ways, with holding and favouring heretical opinions, and with declaring that he would fight even against the king in defence of them. Cranmer alone proved faithful to the fallen minister; he wrote to the king in his favour, but that availed him nought. The bill was rapidly passed through the lords*; in the commons it met with some opposition, but was finally carried.

The great object, the divorce of the queen, was now proceeded with speedily. She was sent to Richmond for the benefit of the air, as it was pretended, and while there she was waited on (June 25) by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and sir Thomas Wriothesley, and acquainted with the king's intention of divorcing her on account of an alleged precontract with the duke of Lorraine. Apathetic as she was she fainted at the intelligence. When she recovered she was prevailed on to consent to refer the matter to the clergy, to relinquish the title of queen, and in lieu to accept that of the king's adopted sister; she also consented to write a letter to him to this effect, and another to her brother, acknowledging the justice of the whole proceeding; and she further engaged to show all the letters she should receive from her family.

In the mean time a very pretty farce was enacted by the legislature. A member of the upper house rose, and having

* It is a subject of regret to find the name of Cranmer in the list of those who voted for the attainder.

lamented the hard fate of his majesty in being bound to a wife who had been affianced to another, and the dishonour thereby brought on him and the country, moved that he should be petitioned to refer his case to the consideration of the clergy. The motion was agreed to; the commons were equally alive to the interests of the king and nation; the joint address was most graciously received; the case was submitted to the convocation (July 5); Gardiner expatiated on the causes which urged the king to seek their interference; a committee, composed of the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Durham, Winchester and Worcester, and seven inferior clergymen, was appointed to receive and report on the evidence. The marriage was declared null and void, as the precontract it was alleged had not been satisfactorily explained, as the king did not and could not consummate it, as it would be for the public good if he were to marry again, etc., in short as Henry disliked his wife and wanted to marry another, and as his divines were most obsequious to his wishes. Parliament confirmed this sentence, and made it high treason to question it. The palace of Richmond and 3000*l.* a year, with precedence of all but the queen and the king's children, consoled Anne for the loss of a capricious husband. She had spirit enough to refuse to return to Germany: she died about sixteen years after this time, in the reign of queen Mary.

Henry had never been known to forgive, and Norfolk and the other enemies of Cromwell were now high in his favour. It was therefore in vain that he wrote in such piteous terms imploring mercy, as even drew tears from the despot's eyes; no mercy was to be found. The warrant for his execution was sent, and on the 28th of July he was beheaded on Tower Hill. Aware of the king's temper, and actuated by affection for his son, he acted like Anne Boleyn, and made no assertion of his innocence. He said he was by law condemned to die, and thanked God for bringing him to that death for his offences. He acknowledged his sins against God, and his offences against his

prince, who had raised him from a base degree. He died, he said, in the catholic faith, not doubting of any article of faith or of any sacrament of the church; he had not been a supporter of those who held ill opinions; but he had been seduced, and now died in the catholic faith*; and he desired those present to pray for the king, the prince, and himself. He then prayed for remission of his sins and admittance into heaven, and giving the sign, his head was cut off in a bungling, barbarous manner.

Two days only had elapsed after the death of Cromwell when the rekindling of the fires of Smithfield taught the reformers their loss of him. The victims were Dr. Barnes, and two clergymen named Jerome and Gerard; their offence was preaching the doctrine of justification by faith only; their persecutor was Gardiner. As they could not be brought within the Six Articles, the convenient mode of attainder was employed, and they were sentenced to be burnt as heretics; at the same time three of the other party, Abel, Powel and Featherstone were attainted for denying the supremacy. To prove the king's thorough impartiality they were drawn on hurdles, one of each party on each, to the place of execution, where the reformers were burnt as heretics, the Romanists were hanged and quartered as traitors.

On the 8th of August Catherine Howard was introduced at court as queen, and the Romish party now viewed their triumph as complete, for Catherine, according to the lords of the council, had entirely won the king's heart by "a notable appearance of honour, cleanness, and maidenly behaviour."

In the following month of April (1541) the people of the northern counties were again in arms against the government; the cause was probably religion: the leader was sir John Neville, but the insurrection was speedily suppressed, and Neville and some others were executed at York.

* "Meaning, probably," says Lingard, "that faith which was now established by law."

Whether it were that her son the cardinal had instigated it, or that she had herself given some offence, or from the mere wantonness of barbarity, Henry now gave orders for the execution of the countess of Salisbury. The venerable matron of seventy-two years, when placed on the scaffold (May 27), refused to lay her head on the block, saying "So should traitors do, and I am none:" she added that, if the executioner would have her head, he must take it by force. When held down, she still kept moving it, and he was thus, says Herbert, "constrained to fetch it off slovenly."

When the insurrection in the north was quelled, Henry made a progress thither in person, in order to quiet the minds of the people; he had also in view a personal meeting with his nephew the king of Scots, in whose realm the Reformation had likewise commenced, and whom he was urging to follow his example in seizing the property of the church. But his queen and the clergy had too much influence over the mind of James, and he sent excuses to his royal uncle, who was now at York. Henry, breathing vengeance, returned to London, where a trial he little anticipated now awaited him.

On Allhallows day, the king "received his Maker, and gave him most hearty thanks for the good life he led and trusted to lead with his wife," and he requested his confessor the bishop of Lincoln to join with him in prayer and thanksgiving. Next day, after mass, Cranmer put into his hand a written statement of charges against his supposed immaculate consort.

It seems, that while the king was in the north, a man named Lascelles had waited on the primate, and told him, that having been down to Sussex to see his sister, who had lived in the service of the old duchess of Norfolk, who had brought the queen up, he had advised her to apply for the situation of one of her women; she replied that she would not, as the queen was "of light living and conditions." She then went on to say, that one Francis Derham, who had been also in the duchess's service, had lain with Ca-

therine more than one hundred times; and that another servant, named Mannock, knew a private mark of her body. The archbishop on hearing this was in great perplexity, and he deemed it his wisest course to communicate it to the chancellor Audley and to the earl of Hertford; and after maturely weighing the matter they decided that he should inform the king. Henry was thunderstruck at the information, which he asserted was forged; he however summoned the lord privy seal, the lord admiral, sir Anthony Brown, and sir Thomas Wriothesley, and directed that inquiry should be made.

The lord privy seal examined Lascelles, and when he was found to persist in his statement, the same nobleman went into Sussex, under pretence of hunting, and thus contrived to have an interview with Lascelles' sister, who confirmed the statement of her brother. Wriothesley meantime arrested Mannock and Derham, and they both confessed to the charges, the latter even naming three women who had lain in the same bed with him and Catherine. When this was all laid before the king, his rugged nature gave way, and after a long silence he burst into a copious flood of tears. The primate, the chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the lord chamberlain and the bishop of Winchester were sent to examine the queen. She at first stoutly denied everything, but being pressed by the weight of evidence she made that night a full confession to the primate, and put her subscription to it. She acknowledged her incontinence before marriage, but asserted that she had been faithful to the king. But it appeared that she had taken Derham as well as one of those women into her service, and that during the late progress a gentleman named Culpepper (related to her on the mother's side) had been secretly introduced into her chamber at Lincoln by lady Rochfort, where he remained from eleven at night till two or three in the morning.

Culpepper and Derham it is said both pleaded guilty when they were arraigned: (Nov. 30) the former was be-

headed, the latter hanged (Dec. 10). The old duchess of Norfolk, lord William Howard the queen's uncle, his wife, and several other persons were charged with misprision of treason for not revealing her guilt, and were sentenced to imprisonment for life. When the parliament met (Jan. 1542), bills of attainder against the queen, lady Rochfort, and all the above-named persons were rapidly passed. On the 13th of February the queen and lady Rochfort were beheaded within the Tower. They expressed great contrition for their sins, but the queen persisted in affirming that she had never been faithless to the royal bed. Neither was much pitied. It was well remembered that lady Rochfort had been a principal agent in the murder of her husband, and his sister Anne Boleyn*.

In the act of attainder of Catherine it was enacted, that any woman who was about to be married to the king should, if she was not a maid, inform him of the fact, under penalty of treason; any other person who knew of this fact, and did not disclose it, should be held guilty of misprision of treason; if the queen or the prince's wife induced any one to commit adultery with her, they should be all punished as traitors. It was jestingly said that the king need not now expect any reputed maid to marry him.

In the convocation this year great complaints were made by the Romish party, of the inaccuracy of Tyndal's and other translations of the Bible, and a new version was projected, in which Gardiner artfully proposed to retain about one hundred Latin words, the true meaning and force of which he said the English language was unable to

* The misrepresentations of Lingard in this and the three succeeding reigns are so numerous that it is impossible for us to notice them, yet we cannot let him pass here. He first of all says, without even the authority of Sanders, that "a plot was woven by the industry of the reformers, which brought the young queen to the scaffold;" and finally, he says of her and lady Rochfort, "I fear that both were sacrificed to the manes of Anne Boleyn." "*I fear, that is,*" says Hallam, "*I wish to insinuate.*" [In his last edition Dr. Lingard omits the latter and softens the former passage.] Again, Derham is styled a "*gentleman* in the service of her grandmother," but Norris and Weston were only *men-servants* when Anne Boleyn was to be injured by insinuation.

express. As the people could not now be debarred the use of the Scriptures, it was reckoned that by means of a piebald version of this kind they might still be kept in the dark on many important points; Cranmer however saw through the artifice, and the project fell to the ground.

Many years had elapsed since the English nation had been engaged in foreign war, but hostilities were now to commence with both Scotland and France. In consequence of the insult offered him, as he conceived, by his nephew of Scotland, Henry ordered the duke of Norfolk to raise an army and to invade that kingdom. The duke crossed the Tweed with twenty thousand men, and advanced along it to Kelso, but he re-crossed the river at that place and returned to England. King James, who had assembled an army, proposed to his nobles an inroad into England; they however refused, and a body of ten thousand men whom he sent into England by Solway Firth took panic and fled at the appearance of a party of but five hundred English, leaving several men of rank captives in their hands. James fell sick from chagrin, and he died just as he had learned the birth of his first child, a daughter. Henry on hearing of this event, proposed to his prisoners and some other Scottish nobles a match between his son Edward and the infant princess, and he gave them their liberty on condition of their aiding him to effect it. But Beaton archbishop of St. Andrews, whom the pope had made a cardinal, had forged a will, by which the king left the regency to himself and three other noblemen during the minority. He was the head of the Romish party, and the queen-dowager joined interest with him. On the other hand, the earl of Arran was the nearest akin to the young queen, and he was supported by the reformers. The cardinal's forgery being suspected, he was deprived of the regency and put in confinement; but he obtained his liberty, and by appealing to the national and religious prejudices of the people, he turned them completely against the English match and triumphed over his rival (1543).

As the king of France had favoured the party hostile to his interests in Scotland, Henry now listened to the overtures of the emperor, and entered into a league with him against France. The Romish party in England were elate, but the reformers gained perhaps a more than counter-vailing advantage in the king's marriage (July 12) with Catherine Parr, the widow of Lord Latimer, who inclined to the new opinions.

Henry crossed the sea the following year (July 14, 1544,) with his principal nobility and a gallant army of thirty thousand men. He was joined by fifteen thousand imperialists; but instead of marching direct to Paris, as good policy and the desires of his ally required, he laid siege to Boulogne and Montreal, because Charles had taken some towns and was besieging St. Dizier. The king of France in alarm made proposals of peace to the emperor, which were at once accepted; and Henry now, as ever, the dupe of his ally, having taken and garrisoned Boulogne, raised the siege of Montreal and returned home (Sept. 30). The war with France and Scotland was continued through the following year, but in a languid manner, and it was terminated by a peace in 1546.

In the year 1543 a new exposition of faith and morals was put forth, under the title of 'A Necessary Doctrine and Erudicion for any Christian Man,' but it was commonly called "The King's Book." Like the 'Institution' on which it was founded, it was of a motley character, with too much of popery to content the reformers, with too much of scriptural truth to please the Romanists. In the next parliament (1544) Cranmer succeeded in obtaining a mitigation of the provisions of the 'Act of Six Articles.'

The cause of the reformers lost in 1545 two of its most powerful supporters in the persons of the duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, and the lord chancellor Audeley, who both died in this year; and Audeley's successor, Wriothesley (now ennobled), sided strongly with the op-

posite party. It was not long till an attempt was made to ruin Cranmer. The king was informed "that the primate, with his learned men, had so infected the whole realm with unsavoury doctrine as to fill all places with abominable heretics," and that the throne was in danger. Henry asked how it were best to proceed, and he was advised to commit him at once to the Tower. He objected to this as a harsh measure; he was assured that the primate was so unpopular that charges in abundance would be brought against him when he was in confinement. He at length consented that the prelate should be summoned next day before the council, and be committed if they deemed it advisable.

Before midnight the king sent sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth to summon the primate to his presence. Cranmer, who was in bed, rose, and came to Whitehall. Henry told him what he had done: Cranmer declared himself indifferent about the committal, as he could easily clear himself. "O Lord God!" cried the king, "what fond simplicity have you so to permit yourself to be imprisoned that every enemy of yours may take advantage against you! Do you not know that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you and condemn you?" He then went on to tell him that *he* had taken better measures for his safety; he desired him to claim his right as a privy councillor of being confronted with his accusers, and, if that was refused, to produce the ring which he then gave him, and appeal to *him*.

Cranmer returned home, and the next morning at eight o'clock he was summoned to appear before the council. When he came he was obliged to remain sitting in the anteroom among the servants. At length he was brought before the board and informed of the charges against him; his demand to be confronted with his accusers was at once refused. "I am sorry, my lords," said he, "that you drive me to such a step, but seeing myself likely to obtain no fair usage from you I must appeal to his majesty." He

produced the ring; they gazed on it and each other for some time in silence; at length lord Russell said with an oath, "Did I not tell you, my lords, what would come of this affair? I knew right well that the king would never permit my lord of Canterbury to be imprisoned, unless it were for high treason." They then took the ring and papers to the king, who rated them well for their treatment of the primate. "I would have you to know," said he in conclusion, "that I account my lord of Canterbury as faithful a man toward me as was ever prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden by the faith I owe to God." The duke of Norfolk replied that their only object had been to give the primate an opportunity of refuting the charges made against him. "I pray you," said the king, "use not my friends so. I perceive now well enough how the world goeth among you." At the royal command they all then shook hands with the placable primate, and a few days after were entertained by him at Lambeth.

Shortly after, at Cranmer's desire, the king suppressed some popular superstitions, such as ringing bells and keeping watch the whole night before Allhallows' day; veiling the cross and the images in churches all through Lent, and unveiling them on Palm Sunday, and kneeling before the cross on that day. But the king himself went still further, and he forbade the practice of creeping to the cross and adoring it.

The king's last parliament met on the 23rd of November: its chief business was to relieve his pecuniary difficulties. It granted large subsidies, and suppressed all the hospitals and other charitable foundations, transferring their revenues to the king. It even went so far as to empower him to seize those of the universities, he making a solemn promise "that all shall be done to the glory of God and common profit to the realm." It further legalised all the transfers of property which the church dignitaries had been forced to make to the crown. The king then dis-

solved the parliament (Dec. 24). He made on this occasion a speech, which he concluded by complaining of the religious dissensions which prevailed. Of the clergy he said, "Some were so stiff in their old *mumpsimus*, and others so busy with their new *sumpsimus**, " that they did nothing but rail at each other; while the laity censured the conduct of the clergy and debated Scripture in alehouses and taverns. He exhorted both parties to give over calling one another ill names, and to live in peace and charity.

The next year (1546) showed how well the king's advice was attended to, for the flames of Smithfield blazed once more. The principal victim was a lady named Anne Askew, daughter of a knight of Lincolnshire. She had been married to a gentleman named Kyme, to whom she bore two children; but having adopted scriptural sentiments, her husband, a furious papist, turned her out of doors. She resumed her maiden name, and came to London, in hopes of obtaining a divorce. Here she transgressed the Six Articles, and she was also suspected of conveying religious books to the queen and some ladies at court. She was taken before Bonner bishop of London; a recantation was proffered to her to sign, and she wrote that she believed "all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church;" and, though this was ambiguous, Bonner was obliged to let her go on bail. This year she was again arrested; she was examined before the council by Gardiner and Wriothesley; they could not move or refute her; she was sent to Newgate, tried before a jury for heresy, and sentenced to die. It was hoped by means of the rack to get her to implicate some persons of rank. She was taken to the Tower, and placed on that horrid instrument. She bore the torture with the utmost firmness, not uttering even a cry. The lieutenant refusing to allow his man to torment her any further, Wriothesley and Rich threw off

* The origin of this phrase is as follows: A priest had long read in his breviary *mumpsimus* for *sumpsimus*; his error was at length pointed out to him, but he angrily declared he would not change his old *mumpsimus* for their new *sumpsimus*.

their gowns and worked the instrument themselves*. When taken off she fainted, but on her recovering she maintained a conversation with them for two hours, sitting on the bare ground. She was carried in a chair to the stake (July 16): with her were John Lascelles, a gentleman of the royal household, Nicholas Belenian, a Shropshire clergyman, and John Adams, a poor tailor—all, like Anne Askew, deniers of transubstantiation. Wriothesley sent to offer them a pardon if they would recant. "I came not hither," said Anne, "to deny my Lord and Master." The others were equally firm, and all were burnt.

It was commonly said at this time of the bishop of Winchester that "he had bent his bow in order to shoot some of the head deer." He had covertly shot at Cranmer; he now openly aimed at the queen. Henry, who was grown peevish and irritable from disease, was annoyed at her urging him on the subject of religion: and one day as she left the room he fretfully noticed it to Gardiner, who was present. The artful prelate saw his opportunity, and he succeeded in prevailing on the king to let articles of accusation be drawn up against her. When prepared they received the royal approbation; but, luckily for the queen, the paper was dropt (probably by design) by the person who was carrying it, and was picked up by one of her friends. Her alarm at her danger brought on an attack of illness; the king came to visit her; she expressed her regret at seeing so little of him, and her fear of having given him offence. They parted on good terms. Next evening she visited the king; he asked her opinion on some points of religion; she modestly replied, that the man was the woman's natural superior, and her judgement should be directed by his. "Not so, by St. Mary," said the king; "you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, as we take it, and not to be instructed by us." She assured him that in arguing with him her only object had been to divert his mind and to derive information. "And is it even so,

* The fact of her being racked is denied by Lingard, vi. 353.

sweetheart?" cried he, "then perfect friends are we now again. It doth me more good to hear these words of thine own mouth than it would have done had I heard the news of a hundred thousand pounds fallen unto me." He embraced and dismissed her, and when she was gone highly extolled her to those who were present; and yet the capricious tyrant had been on the point of sending her to the Tower, perhaps even to the stake!

Next day he sent for her to the garden. While they were there, the chancellor came with forty men to arrest her. The king frowned; the queen retired; the chancellor knelt; the words "Knave, fool, beast, avaunt from my presence!" reached the ears of the queen, and she came forward to interpose. "Ah, poor soul," said Henry, "thou little knowest how evil he hath deserved this grace at thy hands. Of my word, sweetheart, he hath been toward thee an arrant knave, and so let him go." Orders were now given that Gardiner should appear no more in the royal presence; the king also struck his name out of the list of executors named in his will.

The days of the monarch were now fast drawing to their close. He was become so corpulent and unwieldy that he could only be moved about in a chair, and an ulcer in one of his legs was at this time so fetid as to be hardly endurable by those about him. One more act of injustice and cruelty was however to be perpetrated. The head of the Romish party and of the ancient nobility was the duke of Norfolk, a man who had on several occasions done good service to the crown; his son, the earl of Surrey, was the most accomplished nobleman of the age*. The Seymours, the uncles of the young prince, may be regarded as the chiefs of the reformed party, and there was a jealousy between them and the Howards, who despised them as upstarts. Whether it proceeded from the intrigues of the Seymours, or from the king's own caprice or apprehen-

* His poems are still read with pleasure. He gave the earliest specimen of blank verse in our language in his translation of a part of the *Æneis* of Virgil.

sions, the duke and his son were committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. Feebler or more ill-supported charges never were made than on this occasion. Surrey's principal offences were his having quartered the arms of the Confessor with his own, a thing in which he was warranted by the heralds; his having spoken contemptuously of the new nobility; and his having two Italians in his service, whom one of the witnesses suspected to be spies. Being a commoner he was tried by a jury at Guildhall (Jan. 13, 1547), before the chancellor and other commissioners. He defended himself with eloquence and spirit; but vain was all defence in this reign; he was condemned as a traitor, and six days after (19th) he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

The duke of Norfolk was accused of various trifling acts of treason, and every effort was made to get up evidence against him. A good deal of the misfortune of himself and his son originated in family dissension; the duchess, who was separated from her husband, actuated by jealousy, wrote to the lord privy seal, accusing him; and his daughter, the duchess of Richmond, was one of the witnesses against her brother. Mrs. Holland, who was supposed to be the duke's mistress, testified all she could against him. The duke was induced to sign a confession of having divulged the king's secrets, concealed his son's treason in quartering the arms of the Confessor, and having himself quartered those of England. But all availed not; a bill of attainder was hurried through parliament, the royal assent was given by commission on the 27th, and he was ordered for execution the next morning. Fortunately for Norfolk the king died in the night, and a respite was sent to the Tower.

The king had gradually been growing worse, but his friends feared to apprise him of his danger. At length sir Anthony Denny ventured to inform him of his approaching dissolution. He received the intelligence with meekness, expressing his reliance on the merits of his Saviour.

Sir Anthony asked if he would have any divine to attend him ; he said, if any, it should be the archbishop of Canterbury ; but " Let me take a little sleep first," said he, " and when I awake again I shall think more about the matter." When he awoke he directed that Cranmer should be fetched from Croydon. The prelate came in all haste, but found him speechless. He desired him to give a sign of his faith in the merits of Christ ; the king pressed his hand and expired.

Nothing can be more injudicious than the conduct of those Protestant writers who, identifying Henry with the Reformation, seem to think themselves bound to apologise for and even justify the various enormities with which his memory is charged. A slight knowledge of history will suffice to show that the worst instruments are often employed to produce the greatest and best results. We may therefore allow Henry to have been a bad man, and yet regard the Reformation, of which he was an instrument, as a benefit to mankind. It is, on the other hand, weak in the Romanists to charge the Reformation with the vices of Henry ; it would be equally so in us were we to impute to *their* religion the atrocities of pope Alexander VI. and his children Cæsar and Lucretia Borgia.

Thorough selfishness formed the basis of Henry's character*. He never was known to sacrifice an inclination to the interest or happiness of another. " He spared no man in his anger, no woman in his lust ;" everything must yield to his will. He was rapacious and profuse, vain and self-sufficient. At the same time he was courteous and

* See Wolsey's opinion of him (*supra*, p. 15). He went to dine one day with Sir T. More, at Chelsea. After dinner he walked for an hour in the garden with him, with his arm round his neck. When More's son-in law Roper congratulated him on the favour he seemed to be in, " I thank our Lord, son, (quoth he,) I find his Grace my very good lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this realm ; howbeit, son Roper, I may tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in France it should not fail to go." This was in 1522 in Henry's jovial days.

affable, and when in good humour had a gay jovial manner highly captivating in a ruler. His people remembered the magnificence of his early reign, his handsome person, his skill in martial exercises, and he was popular with them to the very last. The constancy of his friendship to Cranmer is the most estimable trait in his character ; but the primate never had dared to oppose his will. Henry's patronage of letters was also highly commendable ; he was skilful in selecting those whom he employed in church and state, and rarely promoted an inefficient person.

CHAPTER VI.

EDWARD VI*.

1547—1553.

The council.—Progress of the Reformation.—Invasion of Scotland and battle of Pinkey.—Lord Seymour.—Joan Bocher.—Risings of the peasantry.—Fall of Somerset.—Bonner and Gardiner.—The lady Mary.—Trial and execution of Somerset.—Settlement of the crown.—Death of the king.

THE new monarch being only in his tenth year, Henry had in his will nominated a council of sixteen persons to administer the government till he should have completed his eighteenth year. A second council of twelve persons was appointed to aid them in cases of difficulty. Hertford and his friends formed a majority in the council of regency, and one of its first acts was to invest him with the office of protector of the realm and guardian of the king's person. The chief, or rather sole opponent of this measure was the chancellor Wriothesley, who being from his office next in rank to the primate, whom he knew to have little talent or inclination for public affairs, had reckoned that the chief direction of them would fall to himself.

The members of the council next proceeded to bestow titles and estates on themselves, sir Anthony Denny, sir William Paget, and sir William Hertford, having deposed that such was the late king's intention. Hertford was created duke of Somerset; Essex (the queen's brother), marquis of Northampton; lord Lisle, earl of Warwick; Wriothesley, earl of Southampton; and Seymour, Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, barons of the same names. Manors and lordships were to be bestowed on them out

* Authorities : Hayward, Godwin, Foxe, Burnet, Strype, the Chroniclers, etc.

of the church lands, to enable them to support their new dignities. Meantime Somerset and others took to themselves the revenues of sundry deaneries and prebends. When they had thus provided for themselves they proceeded to the ceremony of the young king's coronation, which was performed with the usual magnificence (Feb. 20).

The chief obstacle in the way of Somerset's ambition being the chancellor, he was on the watch for a pretext to get rid of him, and Southampton's imprudence soon furnished him with one. In order to be able to devote himself more exclusively to politics, he had, without consulting his colleagues, put the great seal into commission, and appointed four lawyers to hear and decide causes in chancery. Complaint was made to the council; the judges, on being consulted, declared the act illegal. The chancellor, when summoned before the council, defended himself, but he was obliged to surrender the great seal, and to remain a prisoner in his own house till the amount of the fine to be imposed on him should be settled. Southampton's opposition being thus removed, Somerset proceeded to enlarge his own authority, and he procured letters patent under the great seal, now held provisionally by lord St. John, making him Protector, with full regal power. He appointed a council, composed of the members of those nominated in the late king's will, but he reserved the power of increasing their number, and did not bind himself to follow their advice. By this plain usurpation Somerset was invested with more power than had ever yet been placed in the hands of a subject.

The Protestants, as we shall henceforth style the reformers*, now looked forward to the rapid spread of their

* We will call the other party Catholics, at the same time protesting against their claim to the exclusive right to this title. *Catholic* signifying *universal*, no church can have less right to it than the one which denies salvation to all without its pale. Roman Catholic (though, as Milton says, "one of the pope's bulls, as if he should say, universal particular, a Catholic schismatic,") is perhaps appropriate enough as denoting the Romish branch of the church. We

principles. The young king had been brought up in them, the protector and the members of the council, with the exception of the bishop of Durham, were, from various motives—partly pure, partly interested—in favour of them. It was a great advantage, that Cranmer, to whom the protector much deferred in these matters, was a man of extreme moderation and caution.

Cranmer commenced by petitioning the council (Feb. 7) to restore him to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction; for, as he argued, it had proceeded from the crown, and therefore had expired with the late king. The other bishops were obliged to follow his example, and they were thus brought under obedience to the council. A royal visitation of all the dioceses in the kingdom was next appointed. The visitors received directions to suppress sundry superstitious practices, such as the sprinkling of beds with holy water, using blessed candles for driving away the devil, etc.; and to see that the clergy performed their functions in a decorous and proper manner. A book of homilies and Erasmus' paraphrase of the New Testament were to be provided for each church, and one of these homilies (which were mostly drawn up by Cranmer) was to be read on Sundays and holidays. Images which had not been objects of pilgrimage and so forth were to be retained, and every precaution was taken to shock the prejudices of the people as little as possible. To these innovations Bonner made some opposition at first, but he afterwards submitted. Gardiner, a man of more firmness and authority, resisted them vigorously, for which he was committed by the council to the Fleet.

In the autumn the protector invaded Scotland; his chief object was to endeavour to force the Scottish nation to agree to the measure (so evidently advantageous to both countries) of their union by the marriage of the two young sovereigns; but the queen-mother and the Romish party

cannot see any reasonable objection to the term Papist; it merely denotes one who maintains the authority of the Pope, and is like Imperialist, etc.

were strongly opposed to it, and the Scottish reformers had lately disgraced their cause by one of those atrocities which distinguish their religious zeal from that of the English. The cardinal-primate having, by engaging the earl of Bothwell to break his faith, got into his hands a gentleman of the name of Wishart, a zealous preacher of the new doctrine, had him tried and condemned to the flames for heresy; and when Arran, the regent, refused to concur in the sentence, he of his own authority had caused him to be burnt, himself witnessing the execution from a window. Some of Wishart's friends determined on vengeance; they contrived early one morning (May 28, 1546,) to enter the castle of St. Andrews, and they murdered the cardinal in his bed-room. Their friends then repaired to them, and they sent to London seeking aid from Henry, who promised them his protection. By means of the supplies forwarded to them from England they were enabled to hold out against the regent for more than a twelvemonth, but he at length reduced them by the aid of a fleet of French galleys.

Somerset, taking with him the earl of Warwick as second in command, crossed the Tweed (Sept. 2) at the head of twenty thousand men; whilst a fleet under lord Clinton moved in view along the coast. He had previously put forth a manifesto stating all the reasons for the proposed marriage, but the ostensible cause assigned for his invasion were the depredations committed by the Scottish borderers. Arran, on the other hand, summoned all the fighting men to his standard, and having selected a force nearly double that of the English, took his post on the banks of the Esk, about four miles from Edinburgh. A skirmish of cavalry took place, in which the Scots had the worst; Somerset then proposed assailing their camp, but finding it too strong, he sent, offering to evacuate the kingdom and make good all the damage done, provided the Scots would engage not to marry their queen to any foreign prince, and to keep her at home till she was of age to choose

for herself. The moderation of these demands caused them to be rejected ; the priests, who had flocked to the camp, inflamed the bigotry of the Scots against the English heretics ; when they saw the protector move toward the sea they thought he intended to embark his troops and thus escape ; and confident of victory, they quitted their camp, crossed the river, and advanced in order of battle into the plain. In the engagement which ensued, the Scots, in consequence of their imprudence and impetuosity, found themselves exposed at once to the fire from the English ships and their artillery, and to the flights of arrows from their archers. They soon broke and fled ; the space thence to Edinburgh was strewn with the bodies of the slain, the priests especially finding no mercy. The loss of the Scots in the battle of Pinkey, as it is named, was more than ten thousand slain and fifteen hundred prisoners ; the victors lost not two hundred men. The protector might now, by following up his successes, have imposed what terms he pleased ; but intelligence of intrigues against him at court determined him to return to London without delay ; and leaving Warwick at Berwick, with full powers to treat of peace with Arran, he quitted Scotland, in which he had been altogether but sixteen days. The negotiations however came to nothing, and the following year the young queen was conveyed to France, where she was soon after betrothed to the Dauphin.

On the return of Somerset a parliament met. The law of treason was brought back to the statute of 25 Edw. III., and all the late laws, extending the crime of felony, and those against Lollardy, and that of the Six Articles, were repealed. Heresy however remained a capital crime, and was to be punished as heretofore by burning. The act making the king's proclamation of equal force with a statute was also annulled. An act was passed restoring the communion in both kinds to the laity, at the same time prohibiting all contempt and reviling of the eucharist, a practice to which the reformed were too much addicted.

Those who sought to batten on the property of the church carried, in spite of the opposition of Cranmer and the other prelates, an act for vesting in the crown the revenues of such colleges, chantries, etc. as had as yet escaped the royal grasp. On the prorogation of parliament a general pardon was announced; Gardiner was therefore set at liberty.

On the approach of Lent (1548) an order of council was issued prohibiting various superstitious usages common at that season. It was directed that candles should not be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes be presented on Ash-Wednesday, or palms be borne on Palm-Sunday. Orders also were given for the removal of all images, without exception, from the churches; for it was found to be impossible to separate the use from the abuse of them. As many of the reformed preachers were very intemperate in their language, none were henceforth to preach who had not received a licence for the purpose. A new communion-service was put forth (May 8) by the royal authority. In the preface the practice of auricular confession was left optional with the communicants,—“a prelude,” says Hume, “to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the most powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their spiritual guides an entire ascendant over them.” In the course of the year, Cranmer, aided by several of the ablest divines among the reformers, compiled a liturgy in English. They proceeded with great moderation and judgement, selecting and translating such portions of the mass as were agreeable to Scripture, and making no innovation for the mere sake of change. This liturgy, the basis of the beautiful service still in use, and in which no pious catholic, we should suppose, could scruple to join, having been approved of by parliament, was ordered to be used in all the churches. By another act permission was given to the clergy to follow the dictates of nature and enter into matrimony like other men.

The protector's brother had, as we have seen, been created a baron by the title of Seymour of Sudeley: War-

wick had also resigned the post of high-admiral in his favour. Seymour was a haughty aspiring man; he had been paying his addresses to Catherine Parr when Henry chose her for his queen; neither dared oppose the despot's will, but her heart was Seymour's; and the king was hardly consigned to the tomb, when, with rather indecent haste*, she gave him her hand. Her death however in child-bed (Sept. 1548) put an end to any hopes he might have formed of advancing his ambitious views through her wealth and influence; he therefore directed his thoughts to the lady Elizabeth, now fifteen years of age, his attentions to whom had excited the jealousy of the dowager-queen, under whose care she lived. He also sought to win the affections of the young king by supplying him secretly with money, and by insinuating that he was old enough to take the government on himself. Sharington, vice-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, had engaged to furnish him with funds to a great extent, and he was said to have taken a large body of men into his pay, to have fortified his house of Holt in Denbighshire, and to have intended to carry off the young king. He also engaged several of the discontented nobles to enter into his plans. Information of what he was about being laid before the council, he was committed to the Tower (Jan. 19th, 1549). A charge consisting of thirty-three articles was drawn up against him; to three of these, when exhibited to him, he replied, but he would not sign his replies; of the rest he took no notice, but persisted in demanding an open trial. On the 25th of February a bill of attainder against him was brought into the upper house; the judges declared the acts with which he was charged to be treasonable, and evidence was heard in proof of them. The bill passed the lords rapidly; in the commons it encountered much opposition, many expressing their dislike to this mode of proceeding by attainder, and saying that

* It was said in the articles against Seymour, with ridiculous exaggeration, that had she borne a child within the usual period it could not have been said with certainty who was the father.

the admiral ought to be heard in his defence. A message from the king was brought, saying that all the evidence should be repeated before them if they desired it. This was not required, and the commons passed the bill, only ten or twelve members opposing it. It received the royal assent (Mar. 14), and three days after the warrant for the execution was signed by the council, Somerset and Cranmer being among those who affixed their names to it. On the 20th the admiral was beheaded. He declared that "he had never committed or meant any treason against the king or kingdom." One of his last acts was to write letters to be secretly delivered to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, urging them to avenge his death. It certainly does not appear that the admiral's guilt amounted to treason; it was against his brother, not the king, that he conspired; he was however a dangerous man, and he was evidently sacrificed to expediency*.

No one yet had thought of putting down heresy in any way but by violence, and the reformers would as little bear any attacks on such articles of faith as they retained as the catholics themselves. In April a commission was issued to Cranmer, and other prelates and laymen, to take cognisance of anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the common prayer. Several such were brought before them, who recanted and bore fagots according to the custom. A woman of good birth and education in Kent, named Joan Bocher, was charged before the commissioners with maintaining an old exploded heresy, namely, that Christ did not take flesh of the Virgin. Her words were, "Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful he could take none of it; but the Word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her†." On her refusal to recant, Cranmer pronounced sentence on her, and she was delivered over to the secular

* The upright Latimer, in a sermon which he preached at this time, asserted Seymour's guilt in the most positive terms from his own knowledge.

† Dr. Lingard calls this "unintelligible jargon," and so it is; but the doctrine it expresses is far more intelligible than that of the real presence.

arm. "It is a goodly matter," said she to her judges, "to consider your ignorance. Not long ago you burnt Anne Askew for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burnt her! And now, forsooth, you will burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures and understand them." These words ought to have made Cranmer and Ridley at least, who were probably the persons chiefly meant, doubt of their own infallibility*. The poor woman was kept an entire year in prison; Cranmer and Ridley had frequent conferences with her to no purpose. The young king had the greatest repugnance to signing the warrant; it was only the authority of Cranmer that at length overcame his scruples, and he signed it, saying that the guilt, if any, must be on the primate's head†. She was consigned to the flames in Smithfield the following year (May 2). Dr. Scory preached on the occasion; she cried to him, "You lie like a rogue; go search the Scriptures." She died of course with constancy. About a year after a Dutchman named Van Parr was burnt for Arianism.

In the course of this summer insurrections broke out in various parts of the kingdom; the causes were partly religious, partly civil and domestic. Evil always has its attendant good; and monachism therefore, though injurious to the best interests of man, had its beneficial results. The monks were in England, as in all countries, the best and most indulgent of landlords. Restricted to a particular mode of life, and not having families to provide for, they had no motives to urge them to be griping and oppressive; and we may fairly suppose that they felt both pride and pleasure at seeing those under them flourishing and happy.

* In 1545 Ridley, from studying the work of Ratramn on the subject was led to reject the doctrine of the real presence. He communicated his ideas to Cranmer, who on inquiry came to coincide with him in opinion.

† Foxe, 1179. Soames (Hist. of Reformat. iii. 544) attempts to throw doubt on the story. We wish he had succeeded; for, after making all due allowance, it is a blot on Cranmer's character.

They also resided constantly on their estates; they received their rents mostly in kind; they spent them on the spot, thus giving encouragement to the industrious, while the more indigent gentry were glad to share their liberal hospitality, and the poor in general derived relief from the food distributed at the convent-gate. But all this was changed when the abbey-lands passed by gift or nominal purchase into the hands of the Russels, Paulets, Petres, and other vultures of the court. The tenantry were obliged to surrender their leases, and take out new ones at double or treble the rent; the new landlords neglected the injunction imposed on them to maintain hospitality; they lived mostly in London, leaving their tenants to be oppressed by their stewards. Further, as wool was found to be more profitable than corn, they pulled down farm-houses and villages, converted the arable land into sheep-walks, and in their griping spirit took in and inclosed the commons. The peasantry, whose numbers had rather increased in consequence of the long period of internal tranquillity which the kingdom had enjoyed, and whose occupation was thus diminished, felt the pressure of want severely; they had not the charity of the monasteries now to look to; and to add to their distress, in consequence of the harvest of the precious metals now poured into Europe from the New World, and the frequent debasements of the coin in the late reign, the money prices of most articles had risen considerably, while, owing to their numbers and the changes above-mentioned, the supply of labour exceeded the demand for it, and they were thus unable to raise their wages in proportion. These causes however being in general far beyond their ken, they fixed on the one most apparent, and ascribed, not without some justice, the deterioration of their condition solely to the changes made in the national religion.

The people rose almost simultaneously in most of the midland, southern, and eastern counties, but they were quieted by the efforts of the gentry, and of some of the "honest

men among themselves." The protector, who was a man of humanity, seeing the justice of their complaints, issued, against the consent of the council, a commission of inquiry respecting inclosures, and directed that such as were found to be illegal should be destroyed; the people thus encouraged began of themselves to level the inclosures in sundry places, while the land-owners exclaimed against the protector, as sacrificing their interests to his passion for vulgar popularity.

The most formidable risings were those in Oxfordshire, Devon and Norfolk; the first however was easily suppressed by lord Grey de Wilton; the insurgents fled at the approach of his troops, leaving two hundred prisoners, twelve of whom were hanged as examples. The rising in Devon was much more formidable; it broke out on Whit-Monday (June 10) in the parish of Sampford Courteney, where the new liturgy had been read for the first time the day before. The people compelled their priest, who was probably nothing loath, to read the old service. The insurrection then rapidly spread; the insurgents soon numbered ten thousand men; many of the gentry joined them, and the command was given to Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. Lord Russel, who was sent against them with a small force, tried the way of negotiation: they required that the mass should be restored; the Six Articles be again put in force; the sacrament be hanged up and worshipped, and those who refused be punished as heretics; the sacrament be only given to the people at Easter, and only in one kind; that holy bread, holy water, and palms should be again used, and images be again set up; that the new service should be set aside; that preachers in their sermons and priests in the mass should pray for the souls in purgatory; that the Bible should be called in, *since otherwise the clergy could not easily confound the heretics*; that cardinal Pole should be restored and made one of the council. They also required that half the abbey and church lands should be resumed, and that every gen-

tleman should have but one servant for every hundred marks of yearly rent. To these demands, evidently dictated by their priests, Cranmer, by direction of the council, drew up a reply; a proclamation was issued, in high terms, ordering them to disperse; but they advanced, the sacred wafer preceding them, to lay siege to Exeter. The citizens made a vigorous defence; the rebels having tried to take the town by escalade and by mine, converted the siege into a blockade, but lord Russel when reinforced attacked and routed them. Arundel, the mayor of Bodmin, and other leaders were taken and executed; the vicar of St. Thomas was hanged from his own steeple in his sacerdotal robes.

The insurrection in Norfolk was headed by one Kett, a wealthy tanner of Wymondham. Having collected about twenty thousand of the peasantry, he took his station on Moushold-hill, which overhangs Norwich, and there seated beneath an old oak, which was thence named the Oak of Reformation, he summoned the gentry before him, and made what decrees he pleased respecting inclosures and other matters. The marquess of Northampton first went against the rebels, but he was routed, and lord Sheffield was among the slain. Warwick was then sent with six thousand men, who had been levied for the war with Scotland; the rebels imprudently descended into the plain to engage him: their rout was speedy and total; two thousand were slain, Kett was taken. He was hanged at Norwich, and nine others were suspended from the boughs of the Oak of Reformation.

The protector was now beset with difficulties on all sides; the war with Scotland languished; the French had resumed hostilities and taken some places about Boulogne, and they menaced that possession; but when he proposed a peace in council, the members objected to it. The nobility and gentry were hostile to him for his having taken the part of the people; and yet the people were not his friends, because he was not of the old faith. The execution of his brother had alienated many; the great estate he had

acquired at the expense of the crown and church displeased others; and the palace which he was building for himself in the Strand brought great odium on him from the means he employed. To procure a site and materials for this edifice he pulled down the church of St. Mary-le-Strand and three bishops' mansions. He was proceeding to demolish St. Margaret's, Westminster, but the parishioners rose and drove off his workmen. He then turned eastwards and seized on Pardon churchyard and the buildings about it on the south side of St. Paul's; the materials were conveyed to the Strand, the bones of the dead were carried away to Finsbury Fields and there covered up in unhallowed earth. He finally blew up with gunpowder the steeple and part of the church of St. John of Jerusalem, near Smithfield.

Somerset's chief opponent was Dudley earl of Warwick, an artful unprincipled man. He was son to the notorious agent of Henry VII.; but the late king finding him a young man of ability, had restored him in blood and taken him into his service. In pursuance of his plan of forming a new nobility out of the gentry, Henry had created him viscount Lisle; he was made earl of Warwick in the beginning of the present reign.

On the 6th of October, Warwick, Southampton (who had been restored to his place in the council), St. John the president, lord Arundel, and five others, met at Ely House, and taking on themselves the whole power of the council, wrote to the chief nobility and gentry, calling on them to aid; and to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower, directing them to obey *their* orders and not those of the protector. Next day they were joined by Rich the chancellor and several other councillors. Secretary Petre also, who had been sent to treat with them, was induced to remain. Somerset removed the king from Hampton Court to Windsor, but finding himself generally deserted (Cranmer, Paget and a few others only remaining faithful) he began to parley. Lord Russel and some others,

who had hitherto remained neutral, now declared against him. On the 10th he invited Warwick and his friends to come to Windsor. They proceeded thither, and the next day they committed the duke's secretary, Cecil, and four others to the Tower, and two days after the protector himself was sent under a strong guard to the same fortress. Twenty-nine articles of accusation were drawn up against him, in which, though the losses incurred in the war and his assumption of power were objected to him, the chief complaint was his having sympathised with the people and wished to do them justice. He was brought before the council (Dec. 23), and on his knees confessed his guilt and subscribed the charges against him. His life was spared, but he was deprived of all his offices and of lands to the value of 2000*l.* a year. Somerset's spirit having revived when he found his life was safe, he ventured to remonstrate against the severity of his sentence, but he was forced to sign a still humbler submission. He was then liberated (Feb. 6, 1550,) and pardoned. Soon after his property was restored, he was admitted into the council, and a marriage (June 3) between his daughter lady Anne Seymour and Warwick's eldest son lord Lisle seemed to have reconciled the rival statesmen.

The successful party now took care to reward themselves with places and titles. Warwick became great master and lord high admiral; the marquess of Northampton was made great chamberlain, and the lords Russel and St. John were created earls of Bedford and Wiltshire; to reward lord Wentworth the manors of Stepney and Hackney were torn from the see of London. The catholics expected that their cause, to which Warwick was thought to lean, would be now triumphant: but it was not of them or their cause that Warwick thought; and finding the young monarch devotedly attached to the principles of the Reformation, he would not risk his power by any efforts in their favour. Southampton, finding himself thwarted in his projects, withdrew from the council; and his death in the following

year deprived the Romanists of one of their ablest supporters.

A peace was now (Mar. 24) made with France, in which Scotland was included. Boulogne was restored to the French king on his paying for it a sum of 400,000 crowns. A negotiation was then set on foot for the marriage of Edward with a princess of France.

Whatever might be Warwick's private sentiments it was resolved to carry on the Reformation. Many of the bishops were, if not hostile, at least lukewarm in this matter; and as they had at the accession acknowledged that they held their sees at the royal pleasure, an easy mode of proceeding against them presented itself. Bonner of London had been already deprived. At the close of the insurrections in the preceding year, he had been directed to preach at St. Paul's Cross, and to inculcate the wickedness of rebellion, the superiority of holiness of life over ceremonial observances, and the competence of a minor king to make laws binding on his subjects. The two first he discoursed of in a sort of way, taking good care to advocate the doctrine of the real presence; on the third he was perfectly silent. Two of the reformed clergy, Hooper and W. Latimer, who were present, deemed it their duty to denounce his sermon to the council. A commission was issued to two prelates, Cranmer and Ridley, the two secretaries of state, Petre and Smyth, and May dean of St. Paul's, to examine into the charges. Nothing could well exceed Bonner's impudence when before them; his language was vulgar ribaldry. After several hearings, his defence not being deemed sufficient, it was resolved to withdraw from him the trust which he was held to have abused. A sentence of deprivation for various causes was pronounced, and he was deprived of his see and confined in the Marshalsea. Ridley was then translated from Rochester to London.

Gardiner had been now lying in the Tower for two years, for having preached a sermon nearly similar to that of Bonner on a similar occasion. The duke of Somerset and

some other members of the council were sent (June 8) to try to induce him to express sorrow for the past and to promise future obedience: no decisive answer however could be obtained from him. On the tenth of July six articles relating to the royal authority in matters of religion and the book of Common Prayer were offered to him to sign. He objected to the preamble, which contained an acknowledgement that he had acted wrong, and an expression of his sorrow for having done so. A new series of articles expressive of approbation of the late changes were next offered to him; but as the preface was still the same, he refused to sign these also. The revenues of his see were then sequestered, and when this produced no effect on him a commission was appointed to try him; he appealed to the king, but his appeal was rejected and sentence of deprivation was passed. Day of Chichester, Heath of Worcester, and Voisey of Exeter, were also deprived for non-compliance with the new order of things.

It has been justly observed, that if any person had a right to hate the Reformation it was the lady Mary; for it was associated in her mind with her mother's injuries and her own. She inherited her father's firmness and her mother's melancholy; she had been sedulously brought up in the doctrines of the church of Rome, and she now clung to them with characteristic obstinacy. The young king, equally bigoted in his own creed, viewed her adherence to the mass with horror; but the influence of the emperor prevailed with the council, and she had her private masses. Two of her chaplains however, Mallet and Berkley, having celebrated mass where she was not present, were committed to the Tower. Letters and messages passed between her and the council. She declared herself ready to endure death for her religion, and only feared that she was not good enough to suffer martyrdom in so good a cause. With true Romish perverseness, that will not even look on the proffered light, she added, that "As for their books, as she thanked God she never had, so she never would read them."

The emperor menaced war if she was molested any further, and as this would at the time be very injurious to the commercial interests of the country the council prudently resolved to connive at her disobedience to the law; but it required all the influence of Cranmer and Ridley to overcome the scruples of the young king at thus tolerating idolatry.

In the course of this year the Book of Common Prayer underwent a new revision and improvement, and articles of religion, forty-two in number, were drawn up; several of the Lutheran divines, particularly Bucer and Peter Martyr, were now in England, and had aided the English divines with their advice. They had sought a refuge from the persecution of the emperor, who though he could plead the rights of conscience in the case of the lady Mary, refused to allow even the king of England's ambassadors to use in their own houses within his dominions the "communion and other divine service according to the laws of this realm*."

The ambition of Warwick now began to display itself more fully: the title of Northumberland having become vacant by the death of the late earl without heirs, he caused the greater part of the ample possessions of that noble house to be granted to himself with the title of duke of Northumberland. His friend Paulet earl of Wiltshire, the treasurer, was at the same time created marquess of Winchester, the marquess of Dorset duke of Suffolk, and sir William Herbert earl of Pembroke. He was resolved to ruin Somerset, whom, though fallen in power and reputation, he still regarded as an obstacle in the path of his ambition; for this purpose he sought to gain over the friends and servants of that nobleman, and thus surround him with spies; he provoked him by menaces and insults; and when the duke broke out into passionate expressions or formed vague projects of revenge, which were usually abandoned as soon as conceived, the information was conveyed to Northumberland. When he thought he had thus

* Proceedings of the Privy Council, 32.

obtained matter enough for a plausible accusation, he resolved to proceed to action without further delay.

On the 16th of October (1551) the duke of Somerset and his friend lord Grey were arrested and committed to the Tower; next day the duchess and several of her favourites were also thrown into prison: shortly after the earl of Arundel and the lords Paget and Decies were arrested. On the 1st of December, the duke, having been previously indicted at Guildhall, was brought to trial in Westminster Hall: the newly created marquess of Winchester sat as high steward; Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke were among the judges*, who were twenty-seven in number. The charges against Somerset were his having intended to depose the king, and having plotted to seize and imprison the earl of Warwick (Northumberland). The witnesses were not produced, but their depositions made the day before were read; according to these it was arranged that Grey should levy forces in the north, that Paget should invite Northumberland, Northampton and Pembroke to dine with him at his house in the Strand, and that Somerset's band of one hundred horsemen should intercept them, or, if they were too well attended, assassinate them when at table; and that the duke should meanwhile raise the city and attack the *gens d'armes* of the guard. All this Somerset positively denied; but he owned that he had spoken of the murder of these lords, though he had at once abandoned that project. The peers after retiring for some time acquitted him of treason, but found him guilty of felony; their verdict was unanimous; he acknowledged its justice, asked pardon of the three lords, and expressed his hopes that his life would be spared. When the people saw him come forth without the axe being borne before him, as was usual in the case of peers charged with high treason, they thought he was acquitted, and set up a loud shout of joy.

* When Somerset objected to them, it was replied, that no challenge could be made to a peer.

Perhaps this proof of the unfortunate duke's popularity determined Northumberland not to spare him. The utmost pains were taken to impress his royal nephew with a belief of his guilt; and the prisoner was deprived of all means of communicating with the king, who, as it was now the season of Christmas, was kept engaged in a constant succession of amusements.

The 22nd of January (1552) was the day appointed for the execution. Though orders had been issued for the citizens to keep their families and servants within doors till after ten o'clock, Tower Hill was crowded at day-break by the people, by whom Somerset was greatly beloved. At eight the duke ascended the scaffold with a firm step and a cheerful countenance; he knelt and prayed, then rose and addressed the people, asserting his loyalty, rejoicing in the state of purity to which he had been instrumental in bringing the national religion, and exhorting them to accept and embrace it thankfully. A movement, of which the cause did not immediately appear, now took place among the people, and several were thrown down and crushed: presently sir Anthony Brown, a member of the council, was seen approaching on horseback: the people, fancying he brought a reprieve, flung up their caps, shouting, "A pardon, a pardon! God save the king!" A gleam of hope flushed the countenance of Somerset; but when the truth was ascertained, he resumed his address with composure; and having concluded it and read a paper containing his profession of faith, he knelt down and received the fatal stroke: several persons then pressed forward and steeped their handkerchiefs in his blood, as in that of a martyr.

Like many other unfortunate persons in history, the duke of Somerset was unequal to the situation in which his destiny placed him; his talents were ill matched with his ambition, and he thus fell into errors and even stained himself with a brother's blood. In more tranquil times his mild and humane disposition and his religious feelings might have caused him to pass a life of peace and happi-

ness. Somerset stands almost alone in these times as a nobleman really caring for the rights and interests of the inferior classes of the people.

Four of Somerset's friends were executed. The earl of Arundel and lord Paget were never brought to trial, but they were obliged to make submissions and confessions, resign their offices and pay fines. Lord de Grey and some others were discharged.

The next of Northumberland's victims was Tunstall, the estimable prelate of Durham. As Tunstall's firm adherence to Romanism had made him adverse to the new order of things, a person named Menville had written to him proposing a plan for an insurrection in the north. The bishop incautiously answered the letter; Menville then gave information to the council, who summoned Tunstall before them; but his letter to Menville could not be found, and nothing therefore could be proved against him. Somerset, it would appear, had concealed this letter out of regard to the bishop, for after his death it was found in one of his caskets. The proceedings were now resumed; a bill of attainder was introduced into the house of lords, and it was passed, none opposing it but Cranmer and lord Stourton, a zealous catholic. The commons, more just or more courageous, insisted that the bishop and his accusers should be confronted, and this being refused they threw out the bill. A commission was then appointed to try him; he was deprived, and his goods were confiscated. The regalities of the see were transferred to Northumberland, and, but for subsequent events, much of its property would also have gone into his possession.

In the month of April of the following year (1553) the young king had an attack of the measles, which was followed by the small-pox: his constitution, originally delicate, was much shaken; and there seemed little prospect of his life being prolonged for many years. If the lady Mary should succeed, Northumberland had everything to apprehend; he therefore represented to Edward the dangers

likely to result to true religion should the supreme power of the state come to one so bigoted to the ancient superstition ; and he reminded him that the act of parliament bastardising her was still in force and might be employed to exclude her. Although the princess Elizabeth was a protestant, she came under the same act, and must therefore be also excluded ; there only remained therefore the descendants of the daughters of Henry VII., the queens of Scotland and France. But the former were excluded by the late king's will ; the duchess of Suffolk, eldest daughter of the latter by the duke of Suffolk, was therefore the next in order of succession, and she would willingly transfer her rights to her eldest daughter the lady Jane Gray, of whose attachment to protestantism there could be no doubt. To these suggestions Edward listened with approbation.

The ambitious Northumberland aimed not merely at excluding the lady Mary, but hoped to bring a crown matrimonial into his own house. At this very time, his residence, Durham House, was the scene of connubial festivities ; the lady Jane Gray became the bride of his fourth son lord Guilford Dudley, her sister Catherine was married to the eldest son of the earl of Pembroke, and the lady Catherine Dudley to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon.

On the 11th of June, sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, was summoned, with two of the other judges and the attorney- and solicitor-general, to attend the king at Greenwich. When they came, Edward apprised them of his intentions respecting the devise of the crown, and putting into their hands a draft of the measure signed by him in six different places, desired them to draw up a legal instrument to that effect. They attempted to remonstrate, but he would not hear them, and only granted them some delay to examine the various settlements of the crown. Two days afterwards they came, and informed the council that such an instrument would subject both the drawers and the advisers of it to the penalties of treason. North-

umberland, who was in an adjoining room, when he heard what they said, came out in a rage, and calling Montague a traitor, said, "I will fight in my shirt with any man in this quarrel." They retired, and soon after all but the solicitor-general were again summoned to appear before the king, who asked them in an angry tone why they had not obeyed his command. The chief justice explained the reason, and when the king expressed his intention of calling a parliament, advised that the matter should be deferred till it met. But Edward insisted on its being done immediately, and the lawyers finally consented, on condition of receiving a commission under the great seal and a pardon. When the instrument was drawn up, Northumberland resolved that it should be signed by all the privy councillors, and by the judges and law officers. Among the judges, sir James Hales, a zealous protestant, alone refused, and Cranmer alone among the councillors, but with his wonted weakness he swerved in his resolution. He had all along advised the king against the measure; he earnestly sought but could not obtain a private audience, in the hope of dissuading him from it. When called on to sign, like the rest, he said, "I cannot set my hand to this instrument without committing perjury, for I have already sworn to the succession of the lady Mary, according to his late majesty's testament." He was then required to attend the king; "I hope," said Edward to him, "that you will not stand out and be more repugnant to my will than all the rest of my council. The judges have informed me that I may lawfully bequeath my crown to the lady Jane, and that my subjects may lawfully receive her as queen, notwithstanding the oath which they took under my father's will." Cranmer asked permission to consult with the judges: their explanations seemed to have removed his scruples, and he put his signature to the devise.

The young king was now taken from under the care of his physicians, who declared that their skill was baffled, and committed to the charge of a woman, who pretended

to have some specific for his disease ; but he rapidly grew worse, and on the 6th of July he breathed his last. Almost his closing words were, "O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name for Jesus Christ's sake."

Edward died so young that his character had not developed itself sufficiently to enable us to appreciate it. He has, however, been the subject of unlimited panegyric to the pens of zealous protestants, who identify him with the progress made by true religion in his reign. He was certainly amiable in his disposition, his piety was fervent and sincere, but it showed symptoms of degenerating into bigotry and intolerance. His abilities were more than moderate, and they were carefully cultivated. It is to the glory of Edward's reign, and to the honour of his advisers, that it was free from bloodshed on account of the contest between the old and new religions. "Edward," says Dodd, a catholic, "did not shed blood on that account. No sanguinary, but only penal laws were executed on those who stood off." The blood-thirsty zealots of the succeeding reign could not therefore say that they only followed the example set them by those whom they murdered.

CHAPTER VII.

MARY*.

1553—1555.

Lady Jane Gray.—The people declare for Mary.—Trial and execution of Northumberland.—Proceedings against the reformers.—The queen's marriage.—Wyat's insurrection.—Execution of lady Jane, her husband and her father.—Danger of the princess Elizabeth.—Marriage of the queen.—Arrival of cardinal Pole.—The princess Elizabeth.

NORTHUMBERLAND intended to keep the death of king Edward for some time a secret. His object was to get the princesses into his power, for which purpose they had been summoned to London to see their brother. The lady Mary had reached Huntsdon in Herts the evening of the king's death; but having received secret intelligence of that event from Arundel, she mounted her horse and rode with all speed to Kenninghall in Norfolk.

The council spent three days in making the necessary arrangements for securing the succession of lady Jane. During this time they communicated the death of the king to the lord mayor and some of the aldermen and citizens, under the seal of secrecy. On the fourth day they proceeded to make that event public, and the chief of them rode to Sion House to announce her dignity to the young queen.

The lady Jane Gray was now but sixteen years of age; her person was pleasing, her disposition amiable and gentle, and her talents of a superior order. Of the extent of her acquirements and the serious turn of her mind we have a proof in the following anecdote, related by the learned Roger Ascham:—Going one day to Bradgate, the residence of her family, he learned that the other members

* Authorities: same as for the preceding reign.

of it were hunting in the park, but he found the lady Jane at home deeply engaged in the perusal of Plato's *Phædon* in the original Greek. When he expressed his surprise at her thus foregoing the pleasures of the park, she replied with a smile, "I fancy all their sport is but a shadow to the pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folks, they never felt what true pleasure means." Besides the classic languages, she is said to have been acquainted with French and Italian, and even to have acquired some tincture of the Oriental languages.

Her usual residence since her marriage had been at Sion House; but she had lately removed to Chelsea. An order of the council to return to her former abode, and there to await the commands of the king, was now conveyed to her by her husband's sister, lady Sidney. Next morning she was visited by Northumberland, Northampton, Arundel, Huntingdon and Pembroke. They addressed her in terms of unwonted respect; her mother, her mother-in-law and the marchioness of Northampton then entered, and the duke informed her of the death of her royal cousin, and his devise in her favour, in order to preserve the realm from papistry. The lords then fell on their knees, and swore that they were ready to shed their blood in her right. At this unexpected intelligence Jane burst into a flood of tears and fell senseless on the ground. When she recovered, she bewailed her cousin's death, and expressed her sense of her unfitness to supply his place, but added, looking up to heaven, "If the right be truly mine, O gracious God, give me strength, I pray most earnestly, so to rule as to promote thy honour and my country's good."

A barge was prepared next day, and Jane was conveyed to the Tower, the usual residence of the kings previous to their coronation. As she entered it her train was borne by her own mother; her husband walked at her side, his cap in his hand; all the nobles bent the knee as she passed. Her succession was now proclaimed; but the people, whose notions of hereditary right were strong, and who hated

Northumberland, listened with apathy. A vintner's boy who ventured to express his dissent was set in the pillory and lost his ears for his offence. Many of the reformed clergy preached in favour of the present change in the succession. Bishop Ridley exerted his eloquence in the same cause at St. Paul's cross, but with little effect. For this he has been blamed, and it may be with reason ; but he had had recent experience of Mary's unyielding bigotry, and doubtless he deemed that there was no safety for the Reformation but in her exclusion.

Though the partisans of Jane had the government, the treasures, a fleet, an army, and the fortresses in their hands, the cause of Mary was strong in the popular notion of her right, and still stronger in the popular aversion to Northumberland. The people of Norfolk, who had suffered so much at his hands in their late insurrection, were therefore disposed to favour her, and she was proclaimed at Norwich (July 13). She had previously written to the council demanding why they had concealed her brother's death, and requiring them to have her instantly proclaimed ; a denial of her right was returned, and she was called on to " surcease to molest any of queen Jane's subjects." Her letters to divers of the nobility and gentry were better attended to ; the earls of Bath and Sussex, and the heirs of lords Wharton and Mordaunt joined her at the head of their tenantry ; and sir Edward Hastings, who had been sent by Northumberland to raise four thousand men for the cause of Jane, led them to the support of Mary. This princess had now removed to the duke of Norfolk's castle of Framlingham, on the coast of Suffolk, that she might escape to Flanders if necessary. A fleet had been sent to intercept her, but the crews were induced to declare in her favour. So many of the nobility and gentry had now joined her that she found herself at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. Sir Edward Hastings and some other leaders were preparing to march from Drayton to Westminster with ten thousand men.

On receiving this intelligence the council directed the duke of Suffolk to advance with the troops which had been collected against the lady Mary; but Jane with tears implored them not to deprive her of her father. As Suffolk's incapacity was well known, the council called on Northumberland himself to take the command. He complied, though with reluctance it is said, for he feared their treachery. He sent his troops forward, and on receiving the assurances of the nobles that they would join him with their forces at Newmarket, he set forth with his train (July 14). The indifference shown by the assembled populace was such as to cause him to observe to lord Gray, as they rode through Shoreditch, "The people press to look on us, but not one saith God speed ye." He proceeded to Cambridge, whence he advanced (July 17) at the head of eight thousand foot and two thousand horse in the direction of Framlingham; but at Bury St. Edmund's he found it advisable to retreat, and he returned to Cambridge, whence he wrote to the council requiring them to send him reinforcements without loss of time.

But things in London had meantime taken a new direction. On the 19th the lord treasurer and lord privy seal, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury and Pembroke, sir Thomas Cheney and sir John Mason met at Baynard's Castle, where they were attended by the lord mayor, the recorder, and some of the aldermen. Arundel, who had all along been in secret correspondence with Mary, advised them to acknowledge her; he met the main objection by saying, "How doth it appear that Mary intends any alteration in religion? Certainly, having been lately petitioned on this point by the Suffolk men, she gave them a very hopeful answer*." Pembroke then drew his sword, and exclaimed, "If the arguments of my lord of Arundel do not persuade you, this sword shall make Mary queen, or I

* "Which indeed was true," adds bishop Godwin, as of his own knowledge. As it appears to have been only verbal, 't was easy for Mary and her partisans afterwards to deny it.

will die in her quarrel*.” All however gave a willing assent; they rode forth and proclaimed Mary at St. Paul’s cross amid the acclamations of the populace, to whom beer, wine and money were then distributed, and the night was ushered in by bonfires and illuminations.

Arundel and Paget having set forth with the news to Mary, Pembroke took the custody of the Tower from Suffolk. The lady Jane, after a brief reign of only ten days, laid down her royalty, and retired to Sion House. When her father announced to her the necessity for her resignation, she replied that it was far more agreeable than his late announcement had been, and expressed her wish that her cheerful abdication might atone for the offence she had committed in accepting the crown, in obedience to him and her mother. Northumberland, when he found the turn matters were taking, proclaimed queen Mary at Cambridge; but he was arrested by Arundel, and committed to the Tower†, as also were the duke of Suffolk and twenty-five more of their friends.

Mary now advanced toward London. At Wanstead in Essex she was met by the lady Elizabeth, at the head of a stately cavalcade of knights, ladies, gentlemen, and their servants. Four days after, the two sisters, followed by a magnificent train, rode through the city to the Tower,—Mary small, thin and delicate; Elizabeth tall, handsome and well-formed, carefully displaying her beautiful hands. In the Tower Mary was met by four state prisoners of rank, the duke of Norfolk, the duchess of Somerset, Courtenay, son of the late marquess of Exeter, and Gardiner bishop of Winchester. She raised them from the ground where they knelt, kissed them, and gave them their liberty. Next day she released Tunstall and Bonner. When

* This fervent loyalist had been one of those who signed the devise of the crown to Jane, and he had sworn a few days before to shed his blood in her cause!

† As he was led through the city, a woman displayed one of the handkerchiefs dipped in Somerset’s blood. “Behold,” she cried, “the blood of that worthy man, the good uncle of that worthy prince, which was shed by thy malicious practices! It plainly now begins to revenge itself on thee.”

forming her council, she bestowed the office of chancellor on Gardiner, who soon showed that his captivity had not subdued his haughty overbearing spirit. Paget was next in influence and importance in the cabinet.

Though Mary had hitherto led a life of seclusion, the love of splendid apparel, which seems to have been inherent in her family, was seated deep in her heart, and she gave loose to it in such a manner as to surprise even the French ambassador, who must have been well used to the pomp and display of dress at his own court. She required all about her, both lords and ladies, to be similarly arrayed, and gray-haired dames of sixty were now to be seen in the gayest hues, and laden with jewels and ornaments,—unlike the perhaps too sober court of Edward VI. Her coronation was celebrated (Sept. 30) with all possible splendour. It was performed in the ancient manner; her clothes were all blessed; she was anointed on various parts of her head and body; Gardiner chaunted mass; the crown was borne by Elizabeth, who with Anne of Cleves afterwards dined at the queen's table. A general pardon to all but sixty persons, who were named, was proclaimed the same day.

On the 18th of August, Northumberland, his son lord Warwick, the marquess of Northampton, sir John and sir Henry Gates, sir Andrew Dudley and sir Thomas Palmer were brought to trial. Norfolk presided as lord high steward for the trial of the three peers. Northumberland submitted these questions: Could a man be guilty of treason who obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal? and could those who were involved in the same guilt with him sit as his judges? He was told that the council and great seal of which he spoke were those of a usurper, and that those against whom there was no sentence of attainder were qualified to sit as judges. They all then pleaded guilty. The commoners, who were tried the next day, did the same. Northumberland, sir John Gates and sir Thomas Palmer were selected for execution.

Abject in adversity as insolent in prosperity, Northumberland sought an interview with Gardiner, and implored his interest to save his life; "Alas," cried he, "let me live a little longer, though it be but in a mouse-hole." Gardiner expressed his wish to serve him, but could not venture to give any hopes. He then prayed that a learned priest might be sent, to whom he might confess, adding that he had never been of any religion but the bishop's own, though for ambitious motives he had pretended otherwise; and that so he would declare at his death. Gardiner, it is said, shed tears, and there is reason to believe did apply to Mary on his behalf; but the emperor had strictly enjoined her not to spare him, and indeed there was no reason why she should. Bishop Heath was sent to give him spiritual comfort. On the 21st the duke and his fellow-prisoners attended mass; he received the eucharist in one kind, and he addressed those present, expressing his regret for his share in putting down the mass, and his intention of restoring it, which, he said, "I could not do at once, because it was necessary for my ends to win the hearts of the Londoners, who love new things." Before evening it was announced to him that he was to die the next morning. He wrote in the most supplicatory terms to Gardiner and Arundel, but in vain. Next morning he was led with Gates and Palmer to the scaffold on Tower-hill. The duke, taking off his damask gown, leaned over the railing on the east side and addressed the spectators. He acknowledged his guilt, but said that he had been incited by others whom he would not name; he exhorted the people to return to the ancient faith, without which they could not hope for peace. "By our creed," says he, "we are taught to say, 'I believe in the holy Catholic faith,' and such is my very belief, as my lord bishop here present can testify. All this I say not from having been commanded so to do, but of my own free will." He then prayed, and laid his head on the block. His two companions died with penitence and courage, but made no recantation.

Such was the well-merited end of this bold bad man.

His confession, it has been finely observed, "was not attended with those marks of penitence which might render it respectable; it served only to strip his conduct of any palliation which the mixture of a motive, in its general nature commendable, might have in some degree afforded." It matters little whether he were sincere or not; he certainly seems to have looked for a reprieve up to the moment when he laid his head on the block*.

The other prisoners, with the exception of lady Jane and her husband, were set at liberty. But notwithstanding all this clemency, the prospect for the protestants was gloomy and cheerless. The queen made no secret of her attachment to the church of Rome, though she still pretended that she would not interfere with the religion of the people. The Romish priests now emboldened ventured to celebrate mass openly in some places. Bourne, one of the royal chaplains, when preaching at St. Paul's cross, dared to attack what had been done in the late reign. The people became excited, a cry of "Pull him down!" was raised, stones were thrown, and some one flung a dagger, which hit one of the pillars of the pulpit. He might have lost his life but for Bradford and Rogers, two reformed preachers, who calmed the fury of the people, and conveyed him into St. Paul's school. The queen took advantage of this to forbid all public preaching, the great weapon of the reformers.

No one could plead better the rights of conscience in her own case during the late reign than Mary, but in the case of her sister she seems to have forgotten them all. Elizabeth found it necessary for her safety to attend mass, and she was even obliged to stoop some time after to the hypocrisy of writing to the emperor to send her a cross, chalice, and other things for the celebration of mass in her private chapel.

Ridley was already in the Tower; Hooper bishop of Gloucester and others were also in prison. Cranmer had

* Foxe asserts that he had been promised a pardon.

hitherto been suffered to remain at Lambeth; but when the subdean Thorndon had the audacity to have mass celebrated in the cathedral of Canterbury, the primate felt it his duty to show that this was without his participation. He drew up a paper containing his sentiments on the mass. Bishop Scory having called on him, saw it and obtained a copy; from this several other copies were made, one of which was publicly read in Cheapside. Cranmer was summoned before the council; he acknowledged the paper to be his, and said his intention had been to enlarge it, affix his seal to it, and put it upon the doors of St. Paul's and other churches. He was committed to the Tower (Sept. 14) on a charge of treason. Latimer had been sent thither the preceding day for his "seditious demeanour," as it was termed. As the venerable man was led through Smithfield, he anticipated his fate, and said, "This place has long groaned for me." Most of the leading protestants were now in prison, many fled the kingdom: Peter Martyr and the other foreigners were ordered to depart. When the men of Suffolk sent to remind the queen of her promises, they met with insult, and one of them named Dobbe was set in the pillory. The intentions of the queen and her council could now be no secret to any one. When the news of her accession reached Rome the pope instantaneously appointed Pole papal legate for England, and soon after a Romish envoy named Commendone, who had gone over to England, and had had private interviews with the queen, arrived with a letter to the pontiff in her own hand-writing, in which she engaged for the return of herself and her kingdom to their obedience to the Holy See. Pole was impatient to proceed at once to England, but Gardiner feared he would precipitate matters too much; the emperor too apprehended his opposition in a matter he had much at heart, and impediments were thrown in his way.

The parliament which had been summoned met on the 5th of October. It is said, but without proof, that violence

had been employed to procure a majority favourable to the court; but the simple court influence, added to the prejudices of a large number of the electors, the eagerness of the catholics to obtain seats, and the fears or despondency of the protestants, are fully sufficient to account for the effects. In open violation of the existing law a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated in Latin before both houses, and when Taylor bishop of Lincoln refused to kneel at it he was thrust out of the house. The archbishop of York had been committed to the Tower the day before for "divers his offences," and Harley, the only remaining protestant prelate, was not allowed to take his seat because he was a married man.

The most important measures passed in this parliament were, an act abolishing every kind of treason not contained in the statute 25 Edw. III., and all felonies that did not exist anterior to 1 Hen. VIII.; one declaring the queen's legitimacy, and annulling the divorce pronounced by Cranmer; and one repealing all the statutes of king Edward respecting religion. It was further enacted, that after the 20th of December next ensuing no service should be allowed but that in use at the death of king Henry. An act of attainder was also passed against those already condemned for treason, and against lady Jane Gray, her husband, lord Ambrose Dudley, and archbishop Cranmer: these four were arraigned at Guildhall (Nov. 13) and they all pleaded guilty. Cranmer, urged probably by the natural love of life, wrote to the queen a full explanation of his conduct in the affair of altering the succession and seeking for mercy; he did not remind her, as he might have done, that she had been indebted to him for safety in her father's time. No notice however was taken of his application, but it does not appear that Mary had as yet any decided intention of taking his life.

The marriage of the queen was a subject which had for some time engaged the attention of herself and her council. The plan of a match between her and cardinal Pole, whom

a papal dispensation could restore to a secular condition, was again brought forward; but the cardinal was now fifty-four years of age, his health was delicate, his habits were bookish and studious, and as the queen seems to have desired an active young consort, that project was abandoned. The general opinion was that she would marry young Courtenay, whom she had created earl of Devonshire, and whose mother she had selected for her bedfellow according to the usage of the age. Of foreign princes, the king of Denmark, the infant of Portugal, and others were spoken of; but the imperial ambassador had his directions to hint to her, as from himself, a match with the prince of Spain, who was now in his twenty-seventh year, and a widower. She did not seem to give any attention at the time, but the idea sank in her mind. Her affection for Courtenay was observed visibly to decline; she began to talk of his youth and inexperience, and she felt or affected great horror at the excesses into which he ran, and which were but too natural to a young man long secluded on the first acquisition of liberty. Presently came a letter from the emperor himself gallantly regretting that age and infirmity prevented him from offering her his own hand, but proposing to her that of the prince of Spain. Her pride was gratified by the prospect of such a high alliance, her vanity was flattered at her hand being sought by a man eleven years her junior, and she secretly resolved on the Spanish match.

In the council Norfolk, Arundel and Paget were in favour of it; Gardiner was opposed to it, as also were the bulk of the people, catholics as well as protestants; the French and Venetian ambassadors also exerted themselves strenuously in favour of Courtenay. On the 30th of October the commons voted an address to the queen, praying that she would select a husband out of the nobility of the realm. But she would not be thwarted; she said she would prove a match for all the cunning of the chancellor. She sent that same night for the imperial ambassador, and

taking him into her oratory, knelt at the foot of the altar before the hallowed wafer, which she believed to be her Creator, and having recited the hymn "Veni, Creator Spiritus," called God to witness that she took the prince of Spain for her husband, and never would have any other. When the commons waited on her with the address, she told them that it was for her, not for them, to choose in this matter.

On the 2nd of January, 1554, four ambassadors extraordinary arrived from the emperor, and made a formal offer to her of the prince of Spain. Gardiner, who had given up his opposition when he found it useless, had already arranged the terms with the resident ambassador Renard, and he took all possible precautions for the honour and independence of England. The appointment to all offices was to rest with the queen, and be confined to natives; Philip was to bind himself by oath to maintain all orders of men in their rights and privileges; he was not to take the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without that of the nobility; not to claim a right to the succession if he survived her; not to take from the kingdom ships, ammunition, or any of the crown jewels; and not to engage the nation in the war between his father and France.

Gardiner recommended this treaty with all his eloquence to the lords of the council, who were willing auditors, but to the people the Spanish match was odious. Treaties and promises they knew were as easily broken as made; supported by foreign troops Philip might easily trample on the constitution, and establish the diabolical tribunal of the Inquisition. These murmurs soon ripened into conspiracies, which were secretly encouraged by Noailles, the French ambassador. It was proposed to effect risings in various parts, and to marry Courtenay to Elizabeth, and establish them in Devonshire, where his family interest lay. It was the intention of the conspirators to wait till the actual presence of Philip in the kingdom should have still

further excited the dissatisfaction of the people ; but Gardiner drew the secret from the fears or the simplicity of Courtenay, and the very next day (Jan. 21) finding they were betrayed they resolved to have recourse to arms, unprepared as they were, before they were arrested. The duke of Suffolk and his brothers, the lords John and Thomas Gray, went down to Warwickshire to raise his tenantry there ; sir James Croft went to the borders of Wales, where his estates lay ; and sir Peter Carew and others to Devonshire. But all their efforts to raise the people proved abortive. The duke, after being defeated in a skirmish near Coventry by lord Huntingdon, who was sent in pursuit of him, was betrayed by one of his own tenants and was recommitted to the Tower : Croft was surprised and taken in his bed before he could raise his tenantry ; Carew fled to France at the approach of the earl of Bedford.

In Kent affairs assumed a more serious aspect. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a man of great skill and courage, raised the standard of revolt at Maidstone (Jan. 24) ; he was instantly joined by fifteen hundred men, and five thousand more were ready to rise. He fixed his head-quarters at the old castle of Rochester, and he obtained cannon and ammunition from some ships that were lying in the river. The duke of Norfolk, at the head of a part of the guards and five hundred Londoners advanced to attack him, but when he gave orders to force the bridge, Bret, the commander of the Londoners, addressed his men, urging them not to fight against those who only sought to save them from the yoke of foreigners. A cry of " A Wyatt ! a Wyatt !" was raised, and Wyatt came out at the head of his cavalry ; Norfolk and his officers fled toward Gravesend, and Wyatt soon reached Deptford at the head of fifteen thousand men.

The council were now greatly alarmed for the personal safety of the queen. This however is one of the few moments in her life in which we must admire her : she exhibited all the courage of her race, and resolved to face the

danger. When the lord mayor had called a meeting of the citizens, she entered Guildhall with her sceptre in her hand, followed by her ladies and her officers of state, and addressed the assembly in such animated terms that the hall resounded with acclamations : twenty-five thousand of the citizens forthwith enrolled themselves for the protection of the city.

Wyat meantime was at Southwark with a force diminished to two thousand men, for his followers slunk away when they found that the Londoners would oppose them. Finding that they were exposed to the guns of the Tower, he led them up the river to Kingston, and having there repaired the bridge, which had been broken, and crossed, he proceeded rapidly toward London in the hope of surprising Ludgate before sunrise. But the carriage of one of his cannon happening to break, he most unwisely delayed for an hour to repair it. This gave time for information to be conveyed to the court. The ministers on their knees implored the queen to take refuge in the Tower, but she scorned the timid counsel. A force of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, under the lords Pembroke and Clinton, was ready to oppose the rebels. At nine o'clock Wyat reached Hyde-park. Though exposed to the fire of the royal cannon at St. James's he forced his way up Fleet-street with a few followers and reached Ludgate, where being refused admittance, he turned and fought his way back to Temple Bar ; but here finding further resistance hopeless, he surrendered to 'sir Maurice Berkeley. His followers meantime had been routed, one hundred being slain and about four hundred made prisoners.

If Mary on the former occasion had neglected the advice of the emperor, and acted with lenity, she resolved to do so no longer. The very day after the capture of Wyat (Feb. 8) she signed a warrant for the execution of " Guilford Dudley and his wife," as it was insultingly expressed. Feckenham, the former abbot of Westminster, was sent to endeavour to convert the lady Jane to the catholic religion,

but all his arguments failed against her sound sense and steady piety. On the morning appointed for the execution (Feb. 12) lord Guilford, whom Jane had refused to see lest their feelings should overcome their fortitude, was led out and beheaded on Tower-hill in the presence of a great multitude of people. Jane from her window saw him go forth, and she afterwards beheld his bleeding trunk as it was brought back in a cart. Her own execution was to take place within the precincts of the Tower, either on account of her royal extraction, or more probably from fear of the effect the sight of her youth and innocence might have on the minds of the spectators. She ascended the scaffold with a firm step and then addressed those present, saying that she was come there to die for the commission of an unlawful act in taking what belonged to the queen; but adding that, as to the desire or procurement of it, she washed her hands in innocence, and she called on them to bear witness that she died a true Christian, and hoped for salvation only through the blood of Jesus. She then knelt down and repeated the fifty-first psalm in English. As she was placing herself before the block she said to the executioner, "I pray you despatch me quickly." She then asked him, "Will you take it off before I lay me down?" "No, madam," replied he. Her eyes being bandaged, she groped about for the block, and not finding it she became a little agitated and said, "What shall I do? where is it? where is it?" Her head was then guided to the right spot. She stretched forth her neck saying, "Lord! into thy hands I commend my spirit," and one blow terminated her existence.

Even the popish historian, who seems to regard it as his duty to suppress all sentiments of sympathy and compassion when a protestant is the sufferer, says that "it would *perhaps* have been to the honour of Mary" if she had abstained from this deed. A more humane and enlightened historian* says, "The history of tyranny affords no example

* Mackintosh, ii. 306. Dr. Lingard in his last edition omits the *perhaps*, and altogether expresses himself in very creditable terms.

of a female of seventeen, by the command of a female and a relation, put to death for acquiescence in the injunction of a father, sanctioned by the concurrence of all that the kingdom could boast of what was illustrious in nobility, or grave in law, or venerable in religion. The example is the more affecting, as it is that of a person who exhibited a matchless union of youth and beauty with genius, with learning, with virtue, with piety; whose affections were so warm, while her passions were so perfectly subdued. It was a death sufficient to honour and dishonour an age."

The duke of Suffolk was executed shortly after. He met with less commiseration than he would have done had he not been regarded as the chief cause of his admirable daughter's death. He was a weak well-meaning man, and seems to have been actuated more by religious feeling than by ambition. His brother lord Thomas Gray, a bolder man, shared his fate. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was the most fortunate of those who were brought to trial; for he proved to the satisfaction of the jury that his case did not come within the statute of Edward III., and they acquitted him. But the court had no idea of being balked of its prey by the consciences of jurors. There were all summoned before the council, committed to prison, and made to pay fines of from 1000 marks to 2000*l.* a-piece. This made other juries more pliant, and sir John Throgmorton and others were found guilty at once. Wyat was reserved for some time, and efforts were made to prevail on him to accuse the lady Elizabeth and Courtenay. He partly yielded, but what he had been induced to say being not deemed sufficient he was sent to the scaffold. At his execution (Apr. 11) he declared it is said that, led by a promise of his life, he had been induced to charge them falsely with a knowledge of his enterprise.

According to the accounts of both the French and the Imperial ambassadors upwards of four hundred persons were hung. Our own writers would seem to limit this

number to little more than sixty*. On the 20th of February, four hundred others were led coupled together with halters round their necks to the tilt-yard, where the queen from her gallery pronounced their pardon, and the poor men went away shouting "God save queen Mary!"

But the great object of Mary and her council was to get the lady Elizabeth into their toils, as the emperor strongly urged her execution. In the beginning of December she had with difficulty obtained permission to retire to her house at Ashridge near Berkhamstead. It is very probable that she had received some intimation of the designs of the conspirators, and that, knowing her life to be in constant danger from the bigotry of her sister, she may have secretly approved of them; but there is no reason to suppose that she ever committed herself by giving her consent to them. But whether the court had evidence against her or not, the very moment Wyatt's insurrection was suppressed a body of five hundred cavalry was sent to Ashridge, whose commanders had orders to bring her up "quick or dead." She was at this time very unwell, and was retired to rest when they arrived at ten at night. She requested not to be disturbed till morning; but they insisted on seeing her immediately, and followed her lady into her chamber. Two physicians having reported that she might travel without danger to her life, she was placed next morning at nine o'clock in a litter, and her weakness was such that she did not reach London till the fifth day. As she passed along the streets she caused the litter to be opened and she appeared clad in white, but pale and swollen with her disease, yet still displaying that air of majesty and dignity which nature had impressed on her features. She was kept for a fortnight a

* The accounts may perhaps be reconciled. Noailles, the French resident, writes on the 12th of March that above 400 had been hung, besides 50 captains and gentlemen; Renard, the Imperial resident, on the 17th of February, that 200 men taken at the fight at St. James's had been executed with their officers; and on the 24th, that 100 had suffered in Kent. Stow says that on the 14th and 15th of February about 50 of Wyatt's faction were hanged. May not these have been only the 50 officers mentioned by the ambassadors?

close prisoner at her own residence : it was then determined to send her to the Tower. She wrote to her sister, asserting her innocence in the strongest terms, and claiming a personal interview on the grounds of a promise the queen had made her. Her letter was unheeded, and on Palm Sunday she was led to a barge in order to embark for the Tower. As she passed along she cast her eyes up to the windows, hoping to see her sister, but the queen was probably engaged at her devotions. She ventured to say that she wondered the nobility of the realm would suffer her to be led into captivity. She objected to landing at 'Traitors' Stairs, but one of the lords said she must not choose, and offered her his cloak as it was raining. She flung it from her and stepped out saying, "Here lands as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs. Before thee, O God ! I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone." The warders who came to receive her knelt down and prayed for her safety, for which they were dismissed next day. She passed on, and sat on a stone to rest herself ; the lieutenant begged of her to come in out of the rain ; she replied, " Better sitting here than in a worse place." She was then led to her apartment ; the doors were locked and bolted on her, and she remained there to meditate on the fate of her guiltless mother and the innocent Jane Gray, a fate which she had little doubt awaited herself.

Mary, in whose bosom fanaticism had stifled all natural feeling, was willing to shed her sister's blood ; the emperor, acting perhaps on the principles of his grandfather in the case of the earl of Warwick, was urgent to have her executed if possible ; Arundel and Paget were for the same course ; but Gardiner saw plainly that neither she nor Courtenay could be brought within the provisions of 25 Edw. III., now the only law of treason. It may be that motives of humanity had some influence on the chancellor's mind, but there is nothing to prove it. The queen feared to take on herself the responsibility of executing her sister contrary to law. The rigour of Elizabeth's confinement

was so far relaxed that she was allowed to walk in a small garden within the Tower. On the 19th of May Sir Henry Bedingfield came with one hundred soldiers and conveyed her to Richmond, and thence to Woodstock castle, where she was confined as strictly as when in the Tower. Courtenay, who was a close prisoner in this fortress, was sent on the 22nd to Fotheringay.

The queen meantime lay on no bed of roses. She was in a state of constant apprehension ; she distrusted even those who were about her, and did not venture to move without a large body of guards. She is said to have had thoughts of ordering a general muster of the people, and then seizing their arms and laying them up in the fortresses. At this time great numbers of the gentry, apprehensive of the persecution which they saw coming, sold their properties and went over to France.

A parliament met on the 4th of April ; a sum of 400,000 crowns, sent for the purpose by the emperor, is said to have been employed to gain over the members ; and Mary, to quiet the apprehensions which might be felt about the church lands, resumed the title of supreme head of the church. The object proposed was to get a bill passed, enabling the queen to dispose of the crown and appoint a successor. But the parliament easily saw who the successor would be, and that in her blind folly and hatred of her sister the queen would make England but a province of the Spanish monarchy. All the arts of Gardiner therefore failed ; they would not even make it treason to compass the death of the queen's husband. Bills for reviving the law of the Six Articles and other statutes against heresy were introduced to no purpose, and the queen finding the parliament not to answer her ends dissolved it.

If we believe the malicious but probably true statements of the French ambassador, the queen manifested her impatience for the arrival of her young husband in a very ridiculous manner. She frequently complained of his delay, regarding it as intentional, and remarked that though she

brought him a kingdom as her dower he had not favoured her with a single letter ; and as she viewed her ordinary and careworn features in her glass, she feared lest she might fail of inspiring him with affection. At length to her great joy Philip landed at Southampton (July 19). He was received by the lords of the council and presented with the order of the Garter. After a short delay he rode to Winchester, where he was met by the anxious queen ; and on the feast of St. James, the patron saint of Spain (25th), the marriage ceremony was performed by Gardiner, the bishop of that see. The royal pair remained there for some days, and then proceeded to Windsor. They visited the metropolis, where they were received with those very dubious marks of affection, shows and pageants ; but the character of neither was calculated to gain the popular favour. The queen was anxious to have her husband all to herself, and his own Spanish pride contributed to fence him round with pomp and etiquette.

But the object nearest the queen's heart was to bring her kingdom again into the bosom of the church. As this could never be effected while the nobility and gentry had to fear for their property in the church lands, the pope yielded to the representations of Gardiner, and signed a bull empowering the legate to "give, alienate, and transfer" to the present possessors all the property taken from the church in the two late reigns. It was now deemed advisable to convene a new parliament ; and as the queen knew she might depend on the compliance of the degenerate or upstart nobles, who never dreamed of opposing the royal will, no matter who possessed the crown, her sole care was to obtain a pliant house of commons. Orders were therefore sent to the sheriffs to have those who held the ancient faith elected ; the protestants were dispirited, and consequently a house containing probably not a single one of them was returned. On the first of November the parliament was opened by a speech from the chancellor in the presence of the king and queen, whose expectation he said it was that

they would accomplish the reunion of the realm with the catholic church. One of the first measures for this purpose was to introduce a bill for reversing the attainder of cardinal Pole. It was passed of course without hesitation.

The cardinal meantime was on his way to England; lord Paget, sir Edward Hastings and sir William Cecil had been sent to meet him at Brussels. At Dover he was received by the bishop of Ely and lord Montague; as he advanced the gentry of the country joined him on horseback. He entered a barge at Gravesend, where the earl of Shrewsbury and the bishop of Durham presented him with the act reversing his attainder; then fixing his silver cross in the prow he proceeded to Westminster. The chancellor received him as he landed; the king at the palace gate, the queen at the head of the staircase. After a short stay he retired to Lambeth, and occupied the archiepiscopal palace, which had been prepared for his abode.

Four days after the legate returned to court, whither the lords and commons had been summoned. He thanked them for reversing his attainder, and assured them of his readiness to aid in restoring them to the unity of the church. They then retired, and next day they unanimously voted a petition to the king and queen, expressing their sorrow for the defection of the realm, and hoping through their mediation to be again received into the bosom of the church. A gracious reply could not be withheld. On the following day the queen came and sat on her throne, the king on her left, the legate on her right. The chancellor read out the petition; the king and queen spoke to the cardinal, who then rose, and after addressing the assembly at some length solemnly absolved them and the whole realm, and restored them to the holy church. They rose and followed the king and queen into the chapel, where the *Te Deum* was chanted. The next Sunday the legate made his public entrance into the city. Gardiner preached at St. Paul's cross, lamenting his conduct in the time of Henry VIII., and exhorting all to follow his example, and repent and amend.

The present parliament readily passed the bill against heresy, and the others which had been rejected by the last. They also made it treason to compass or attempt the life of Philip during his union with the queen ; but even they would go no further, refusing to consent even to his coronation. An act however was passed, giving him the guardianship of the queen's expected issue, " if it should happen to her otherwise than well in the time of her travel."

The lovesick Mary actually fancied at this time that her longing desires for issue were about to be gratified. At the first sight of Pole, she felt, as she thought, the babe moving in her womb ; this by some of the zealous was likened to John the Baptist's leaping in his mother's womb at the salutation of the Virgin. The council wrote that very night to Bonner to order a *Te Deum* to be sung in St. Paul's and the other churches. Prayers were composed for the safe delivery of the queen, one of which ran partly thus : " Give therefore unto thy servants Philip and Mary a male issue, which may sit in the seat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen a little infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent." Public rejoicings were made, and the household of the prince (for so it was to be) was arranged. But all was mere illusion ; the pregnancy, as afterwards appeared, was but the commencement of dropsy !

To ingratiate himself with the nation, Philip caused those who were in confinement in the Tower for treason to be set at liberty. Through his means the same favour was extended to Courtenay*. But his most popular act was obtaining pardon for the princess Elizabeth. As we have seen, she was now a prisoner at Woodstock, and sir Henry Beddingfield proved so rigorous a jailer, that, it is said, hearing one day the blithe song of a milkmaid, she could not refrain from wishing that *she* were a milkmaid too, that she might carol thus gay and free from care. Her situation

* This young man went to the Continent, and he died soon after at Padua.

was a precarious one ; as the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and as a protestant in her heart, she was an object of aversion to the queen, who, according to Elizabeth's own assertion, actually thirsted for her blood. Gardiner is said to have been urgent for her execution. He used, we are told, when the punishment of heretics was spoken of, to say, " We may shake off the leaves and lop the branches ; but if we do not destroy the root, the hope of heretics (i.e. the princess), we do nothing." And he was right ; for had she been cut off, and had the queen of Scots succeeded, it is impossible to say what might have been the injury to true religion. The Spanish match alone saved Elizabeth ; for it became the interest of him who had the power to do it to protect her. Nobler motives too may have actuated Philip ; he may have shrunk from the idea of seeing the blood of a princess shed to gratify revenge and bigotry. Such motives operated at least on his Spanish attendants. Foxe tells us, that when lord Paget said that the king would not have any quiet commonwealth in England unless her head were stricken from the shoulders, the Spaniards answered, " God forbid that their king and master should have that mind to consent to such a mischief ;" and he adds, that they never ceased urging Philip till he had her released from prison. To this is to be added Elizabeth's extreme prudence, which prevented her enemies from gaining any advantage over her, and her feigning to be a catholic. Something also must be ascribed to the mild temper of cardinal Pole, his gentlemanly feeling, his respect for royal and kindred blood, and his influence over the queen.

Hatfield was now assigned to Elizabeth as a residence, under the charge of sir Thomas Pope, a gentleman of honour and humanity, and she was frequently received at court. It was proposed to marry her to some foreign prince, but she steadfastly declined all the offers made to her. She spent her time chiefly in reading the classics with the learned Roger Ascham.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARY (CONTINUED).

1555—1558.

Proceedings against the reformers.—Martyrdom of Rogers and Hooper.—
 Proceedings against Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer.—Martyrdom of the two
 last.—Death of Gardiner.—Martyrdom of Cranmer.—Pole made primate.
 —Battle of St. Quintin.—Loss of Calais.—Death of the queen and of the
 cardinal.

THE year 1555 opened with dismal prospects for the protestants. The queen had already, even before the parliament met, made this reply to the lords of the council in writing:—"Touching the punishment of heretics, methinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the meantime to *do justice to* [i. e. execute] such as by learning would seem to deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion; by which they shall both understand the truth, and beware not to do the like. And especially within London I would wish none *to be burnt* without some of the council's presence, and both there and everywhere good sermons at the same time." On the 23rd of January all the bishops went to Lambeth to receive the legate's blessing and directions. Pole, whose natural temper was mild and whose character was virtuous, desired them to return to their sees and endeavour to win back their flocks by gentle methods. On the 25th (the conversion of St. Paul) there was a solemn procession through London. First went one hundred and sixty priests, all in their copes; then came eight bishops, and lastly Bonner, bearing the host; thanksgivings were offered to God for reconciling them again to his church; bonfires blazed all through the night, and this day was appointed to be annu-

ally observed under the name of the Feast of Reconciliation. On the 28th, the chancellor, aided by the bishops Bonner, Tunstall, Heath, Thirlby, Aldrich, and other prelates, with the duke of Norfolk and the lords Montague and Wharton, opened his court under the legatine authority for the trial of heretics at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark.

The late bishops Hooper and Ferrar, and Rogers, Taylor, and some other divines had been brought on the 22nd before the chancellor and council; they had to undergo the ill language and browbeating of Gardiner, but they persisted in maintaining their principles. Hooper and Rogers were now put on their trial. The former was charged with marrying, though a priest; with maintaining that marriages may be legally dissolved for fornication and adultery, and that persons so released may marry again; and with denying transubstantiation. He admitted the truth of all. Of the last he said, "I have done so, and I now affirm that the very natural body of Christ is not really and substantially present in the sacrament of the altar. I assert, moreover, that the mass is idolatrous, and the iniquity of the devil."

Rogers was asked if he would accept the queen's mercy and be reconciled to the catholic church. He replied that he had never departed from that church, and that he would not purchase the queen's clemency by relapsing into anti-christian doctrines. Gardiner charged him with insulting his sovereign. "The queen's majesty, God save her grace! would have been well enough," said Rogers, "if it had not been for your counsels." "The queen went before me," said Gardiner; "it was her own motion." "I never can nor will believe it," was the reply. Bishop Aldrich then said, "We of the prelacy will bear witness to my lord chancellor in this." "Yea," replied Rogers, "that I believe well:" which reply caused a laugh among the by-standers. Gardiner made a long speech, and then he and his brethren rose and took off their caps, and he asked the fatal question,

did he believe that the body of the Lord was really present in the sacrament. He answered that he did not. The passing of sentence was deferred till the next day, under the pretence of charity, and the two prisoners were conducted to the Counter in Southwark. Next morning they were brought up again, and as they refused to recant they were condemned on the charges already mentioned. Rogers requested that his poor wife, being a stranger, (she was a German,) might come and speak with him while yet he lived. "She is not thy wife," said Gardiner. "Yea, but she is, my lord," replied Rogers, "and hath been so these eighteen years." His request was refused. The two prisoners were then committed to the sheriffs, with directions to keep them in the Clink till night and then to transfer them to Newgate. In order that the city might be enveloped in darkness, orders were given that the costermongers, who then, as now, sat with candles at their stalls, should put them out; but the people stood with lights at their doors, and greeted, prayed for, and praised the confessors as they passed.

Some days after Bonner came to Newgate, and in the chapel performed the ceremony of degrading them, on which occasion he rejected the renewed request of Rogers to be allowed to see his wife. On the 4th of February Rogers was led forth to be burnt in Smithfield. Immense crowds were assembled in the streets, who cheered and applauded him as he went along repeating the fifty-first Psalm. Among them he beheld his wife and his ten children, one of them an infant at the breast. At the stake a pardon was offered him if he would recant; he refused it, and died with constancy England's protestant proto-martyr.

As we shall unfortunately have more of these horrible *autos da fe* to narrate, we will here describe the manner of them. A large stake or post was fixed in the ground, with a ledge or step to it, on which the victim was set, standing stript to his shirt, that he might be visible to all

the spectators. He was fastened to the stake with chains, but his arms were left at liberty. Faggots and bundles of reeds were then piled around him, to which fire was set, and he was thus consumed.

The next day (Feb. 5) Hooper, whom it was unwisely determined to burn in his own diocese, was taken to near St. Dunstan's in Fleet-street, where he was committed to the charge of six men of the royal guard, who were to conduct him to Gloucester. Having eaten a hearty breakfast at the Angel-inn, St. Clements, he mounted the horse prepared for him. To prevent his being recognised on the road, he was made to wear a hood under his hat, which covered the greater part of his face; and he was never taken to any of the inns at which he had been in the habit of stopping. His coming being known, a large multitude of people met him within a mile of Gloucester, who loudly lamented his fate. His guards took him to a private-house, and kindly allowed him to pass the next day in solitary devotion. Sir Anthony Kingston, one of his former hearers, and now one of those appointed to conduct his martyrdom, came in and saluted him, but he was so absorbed in prayer that he did not hear him. Kingston burst into tears, and when he drew his attention urged him to save his life and recant; but his arguments were of no avail, and he retired thanking God that he had known the bishop, who had been the means of reclaiming him from sin. In the evening the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen came to receive him from his guards. They saluted him kindly, and were going to take him away to the city gaol; but the guards, whose hearts he had won on the journey, interceded, offering to be answerable for him if left for this last night in his present lodging; to this the magistrates consented. He retired to rest at five o'clock, and, having slept soundly for some hours, arose and employed himself in fervent devotion.

At nine the next morning (Feb. 9) the sheriffs came with armed men to conduct him to the pyre. He walked be-

tween them, leaning on a staff, on account of the sciatica which had come on him in prison. As it was market-day about seven thousand people were assembled, but strict orders from the council not to permit him to address the people had been received*. The stake had been fixed near a great elm tree in front of the cathedral where he was wont to preach. The spectators filled the place around, the houses, and the boughs of the tree; the priests of the college stood in the chamber over the gate. When he arrived he knelt down and prayed: lord Chandos, who presided at this martyrdom, observing those who were nearest listening attentively to his prayers, ordered them to remove to a greater distance. A box containing his pardon was set before the victim. "If you love my soul away with it!" said he twice. "There is no remedy then," said Chandos; "despatch, quickly." Hooper then threw off his gown, desiring the sheriffs to return it to his host, to whom it belonged. He would fain have retained his hose and doublet, but the sheriffs, whose perquisites they were to be, would not suffer him, "such was their greediness." When he was fixed to the stake, one of his guards came and kindly fastened some bags of gunpowder about him to shorten his torments. The pyre was then inflamed, but most of the wood was green, and the wind blew the flames from him. At length it blazed up, but it sank again, leaving him all scorched; even the explosion of the powder did him little injury. His sufferings lasted for three quarters of an hour, during which he was seen to move his lips constantly in prayer, and to beat his breast, which he continued to do with one hand after his other arm had dropped off. At length his agonies came to their close.

Our limits do not allow us to enter into the interesting details of the martyrdom of Taylor, Saunders, Bradford, and others who at this time sealed their testimony to the

* The martyrs were usually enjoined not to speak. Foxe says that the council used to threaten to cut out their tongues if they did not pledge themselves to be silent.

truth with their blood*. Suffice it to say that they all died with the utmost constancy, especially those who were married, thus nobly refuting the slanderous assertions of their adversaries, that sensual pleasure was the bait which allured them to the reformed creed.

It is remarkable that after the condemnation of Hooper and Rogers, the chancellor sat no more, but resigned the odious office to Bonner, of whom it has been truly said by Mackintosh, that he "seems to have been of so detestable a nature, that if there had been no persecution he must have sought other means of venting his cruelty." What Gardiner's motive could have been it is not easy to say; perhaps as small matters often produce great effects, it was the shame and annoyance caused by the constant references of his victims to his own writings, and his own oaths, that induced him to devolve the task to one untroubled with shame or compunction. Certainly it was not humanity that actuated him. Another notable circumstance is this :—On the 10th of February, Alfonso de Castro, a Franciscan friar and confessor to the king, preached a sermon, in which he condemned these sanguinary proceedings in very strong terms, as contrary to both the text and the spirit of the Gospel. Whether the friar in doing so acted from conscience or the directions of Philip cannot be ascertained. If the latter was the cause, it must have been that Philip, seeing the horror caused by these barbarous executions, and knowing that they would be laid to his charge, and that he would thus lose all chance of obtaining the government of England, took this mode of clearing himself. But the stratagem, if it was such, was of no avail; in a few weeks the piles were rekindled, and every one knew that he had such influence over the queen that he could have ended the persecution at his pleasure.

* Lingard disposes of Hooper and all these martyrs in the compass of half a page. "To describe the sufferings of each individual," says he, "would fatigue the patience and torture the feelings of the reader." Though it may seem uncharitable, we suspect there were other reasons for this silence.

The possessors of the church lands, as we have seen, seem to have cared little about religion or conscience in comparison with their houses and manors; but they now ran some risk of seeing their rights of possession disputed. A splendid embassy, headed by lord Montague, Thirlby bishop of Ely, and sir Edward Karne, was sent to Rome to lay the submission of England before the papal throne. But while they were on the road pope Pius died; and his successor Marcellus, one of those excellent men whom chance rather than design seems to have placed on the seat of St. Peter*, followed him to the tomb within a few days after his elevation. The choice of the college now fell on the cardinal Caraffa, a man hitherto distinguished for the austerity of his manners. But when placed on a throne, under the name of Paul IV., he displayed his real character, and in pomp, in arrogance, and in nepotism he yielded to none of his predecessors. This haughty pontiff condescended to forgive the English nation the sin of their defection, and he confirmed the erection of Ireland into a kingdom; but he spoke strongly of the guilt of detaining any portion of the church property, and seemed determined to insist on its restitution. His pride however yielded, for a time at least, to the considerations of expediency.

While England was thus brought again within the papal fold, and the tortures of the heretics proved how sincerely her government had imbibed the spirit of Rome, Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer lay in prison expecting the fate which they knew awaited them. In the beginning of March in the preceding year, they had been transmitted to Oxford, where they were required to dispute with a commission, presided over by Dr. Weston, on the subject of the eucharist and the mass. This disputation lasted for three days. The prisoners met with little but sophistry, insult, and de-

* "I could not believe," wrote the archbishop of Salerno, "that Santa Croce could be made the pope; because all his manners, and the path in which he walked, seemed to me to be the contrary to that by which the papacy is obtained."

ription ; and as they steadfastly maintained their opinions, they were condemned as heretics, “ themselves, their fautors and patrons.” A grand mass was celebrated on the following Sunday, to which succeeded a procession, Weston carrying the deified wafer under a canopy. The commissioners then quitted Oxford : Cranmer, probably being regarded as an attainted traitor, was confined in the common gaol, which was named Bocardo ; the other two prelates were kept in separate houses.

As there was no law at this time by which deniers of the real presence could be burnt, the government was obliged to wait till parliament should have armed them with powers for the purpose. The prelates were therefore left in their prisons till the autumn of the following year (1555), when Brookes bishop of Gloucester came down by commission from the legate as papal sub-delegate, attended by two civilians, Martin and Storey, as the royal proctors. He opened his commission (Sept. 12) in St. Mary’s church, seated on a scaffold ten feet high over the high altar. Cranmer was led in, habited in his doctor’s dress ; he took no notice of Brookes, but saluted the royal proctors. Brookes observed that his present situation entitled him to more respect. Cranmer mildly replied that he meant no personal disrespect to *him*, but that he had solemnly sworn never to re-admit the bishop of Rome’s authority into the realm. Brookes then addressed him, charging him with heresy, perjury, treason, and adultery. Martin followed in the same strain. Cranmer being permitted to enter on his defence knelt down and repeated the Lord’s prayer ; he then rose, and reciting the creed proceeded to deny the authority of the pope, and to inveigh against the practice of saying prayers in a foreign language. Speaking of his book on the eucharist, he maintained that it was conformable to the decisions of the church for the first thousand years. “ If from any doctor who wrote within that period,” said he, “ a passage can be brought proving the authorized prevalence of a belief in the corporal presence, I will give

over." He objected to the witnesses who appeared against him as being perjured men, who had before sworn to renounce the pope. The next day he was cited to appear in person before the pope within eighty days, and was then sent back to his prison.

On the 30th of September Brookes sat again, aided by White of Lincoln and Holiman of Bristol. Ridley was brought before them. He took off his cap, but when the commission in the name of the pope and legate was read he put it on again. He was remonstrated with, and on the whole was treated with civility. Five articles, two of which related to transubstantiation and the mass, were offered to him to subscribe. He refused, and he repeated his protest against the authority of the court. Ridley was then removed, and Latimer was brought in. The venerable man was clad in a threadbare frieze gown, fastened round his hips by a common leathern girdle; he had a nightcap on his head, covered by a handkerchief, over which was a tradesman's cap with flaps buttoned under his chin. His Testament was suspended from his girdle, and his spectacles from his neck; he held his hat in his hand. White treated him with courtesy, and exhorted him to be reconciled to the church; Latimer, having obtained permission to sit, proceeded to refute his arguments, and he quoted from a sermon lately published an instance of the manner in which Scripture was perverted in support of the church of Rome. "What clipping of God's coin is this!" added he in his usual manner. These words caused a laugh, which increased when it was made known that Brookes himself was the preacher. "Was it yours, my lord?" said Latimer: "Indeed I know not your lordship, neither did I ever see you before, neither yet see you now through the brightness of the sun shining between you and me." The merriment was redoubled at this simple address: Latimer, who felt its unsuitableness to the occasion, then said, "Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter; I answer upon life and death. 'Woe unto you

that laugh now, for ye shall mourn and weep!’” After some more conversation he was required to subscribe the five articles. He refused, protesting at the same time, like Ridley, against the authority of the court.

The next morning Ridley was again brought before the court. He remained covered, but his cap was taken off by order of bishop White. He gave in a written answer on the subject of the five articles, and, having again refused to subscribe them, he was excommunicated as an impugner of the real presence, transubstantiation, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. Latimer was next brought in; he was exhorted to return into the bosom of the catholic church; he asserted that he never was out of it, but he reprobated those who artfully confounded it with the Romish church, which last he said ought rather to be called diabolical. He then refused to subscribe, and was excommunicated.

Some days after the mockery of degradation was undergone by the two martyrs. When Ridley was forced to put on the Romish vestments, he said, alluding to the indignities offered to Christ, “The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord.” When it was over he gave Brookes a supplication, which he requested him to present to the queen. It was on behalf of some tenants of the see of London, to whom he had given leases which Bonner refused to allow; and of his sister, whose husband he had placed in a situation of which Bonner had deprived him. At the name of his sister tears checked his utterance. “This is nature that moveth me,” said he, “but I have now done.”

The following morning (Oct. 16) the martyrs were led from their prisons to the pyre in the old city-ditch, opposite Baliol college. As Ridley passed by Bocardo he looked up, hoping to catch a last view of Cranmer; but he was at that moment engaged in an argument with De Soto, a Spanish dominican, and some others. He afterwards, it is said, went up to the roof of the prison, whence he had a

view of the pyre, and on his knees with outspread hands prayed to God to give them constancy of faith and hope in their agony. When the prisoners arrived at the fatal spot, they embraced each other, and Ridley said, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the fire or else strengthen us to abide it." They kissed their stakes, knelt and prayed, and then conversed together. Dr. Smyth, a man who always thought with those in power, then mounted a pulpit and preached from the text, "Though I give my body to be burned and have not charity it profiteth me nothing," and the sort of charity which his discourse contained may be easily conjectured; when he had concluded, Ridley craved permission of lord Williams of Thame, who presided, to make a reply. Permission was refused, and they were ordered to make ready for death. Ridley distributed parts of his clothes and various little articles among his friends. When Latimer was stript he appeared arrayed in a new shroud, and he who had lately been enfeebled by age and infirmity now "stood bolt upright," says Foxe, "as comely a father as one might lightly behold." When they were fastened to the stakes Ridley's brother-in-law attached bags of gunpowder to them. A lighted faggot was then thrown at their feet. "Be of good comfort, master Ridley," then said Latimer, "and play the man. We shall this day, by God's grace, light in England such a candle as I trust shall never be put out." He washed his hands, as it were, in the flames, and then stroked his face with them, and crying, "Father of heaven, receive my soul!" speedily expired. Ridley's sufferings were greatly protracted; the bottom of the pyre being composed of furze, with faggots heaped upon it, the flame beneath was at first strong, and it burned his lower extremities, but it then subsided. In agony he cried, "Oh, for Christ's sake let the fire come unto me!" His brother-in-law heaped on more faggots; the victim became enveloped in a dense smoke, when he kept crying, "I cannot burn; oh, let the fire come unto me!" Some of the faggots

were then removed, the flame sprang up, the smoke cleared off, and it was seen that on one side his shirt was not even discoloured. He turned eagerly to the flame, the gunpowder exploded, and he ceased to exist.

The arch-persecutor Gardiner soon followed his victims to the tomb. He had been suffering from disease of late. On the 21st of October, however, when the parliament met, he addressed it, and displayed even more than his usual powers. But the effort was too much for him; he returned to his house, where he died on the 12th of November. He is said to have shown some penitence; for on our Saviour's passion being read to him, when they came to St. Peter's denial, he bade them stop there, for, said he, "I have denied with Peter, I have gone out with Peter, but I have not yet wept bitterly with Peter;" words however rather ambiguous. He was, as his whole life shows, a worldly-minded ambitious man, of unscrupulous conscience, proud and arrogant, false and artful. The reformers charged him with looseness and incontinence of living. He was however an able statesman, and there is something not unworthy of respect in his conduct during the late reign.

The parliament, owing either to the want of Gardiner to manage it, or to the horror caused by the late sanguinary proceedings, or aversion to the Spanish alliance, was much less compliant than was wished. The queen's zeal had already led her to give back to the church such portions of its lands as were in the possession of the crown; but she wished to do more, and to restore the tenths, first-fruits, etc., which had been transferred from the pope to Henry VIII. by the act which made him supreme head of the church. This measure passed the lords without opposition, but the resistance in the commons was vigorous, the numbers being 193 for, 126 against it. As a revenue of 60,000*l.* a year was thus abandoned, the commons were naturally indignant at being called on to grant considerable supplies. "What justice is there," said they, "in taxing the subject

to relieve the sovereign's necessities, when she refuses to avail herself of funds legally at her disposal?" The ministers were finally obliged to be content with much less than they originally demanded. The commons refused to pass a bill of penalties against the duchess of Suffolk and those who had sought refuge abroad against persecution, and another to disable certain persons from acting as justices of peace; for it was known that their aversion to persecution was their offence. Parliament was dissolved on the 9th of December.

When Philip found that the queen's pregnancy had been all an illusion, and that there remained little or no hope of offspring, and saw the utter impossibility of his ever acquiring the affections of the nation, he readily complied with his father's desire of returning to Flanders. He took his leave of the queen on the 4th of September, and on the 25th of the following month the emperor made to him the famous resignation of his dominions. Mary meantime beguiled the tedium of his absence by persecuting her heretical subjects and by re-establishing the friars in their houses; the Grey Friars were replaced at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Shene, and the Brigittins at Sion. Westminster again became an abbey, and the house of the Knights of St. John rose from its ruins. She doubtless, in her blind fanaticism, reckoned it as not her least merit in the sight of God that in the course of this year not less than sixty-seven impugners of the real presence, of whom four were bishops and fifteen were priests, had perished in the flames.

Cranmer still lay in prison. He had written a very manly letter to the queen, wherein he stated his reasons for denying the pope's authority. To this, by her direction, Pole wrote a reply; it was in his usual vague declamatory style, well seasoned with invective, but containing a memorable attestation of Cranmer's merciful exercise of his authority. "Nor does it at all avail," says he, "to excuse you, that you have slaughtered no one, but have been be-

nign and gentle to all ; for I hear this asserted by some. But these know not what they say, nor do you perhaps know whether you have slain any one, because you did not enter Christ's fold with this design, nor after you entered it are conscious to yourself of having sought the blood of any." The pontiff meantime, as soon as the eighty days were expired, condemned him, collated Pole to the primacy, and issued a commission for Cranmer's degradation.

On the 14th of February (1556) Bonner of London and Thirlby of Ely took their seat in the choir of Christ-church at Oxford as papal commissioners. Cranmer was led in ; the commission was read, dwelling as usual on the papal impartiality, and stating what ample time had been given to the accused to proceed with his appeal and defence. " My lord," cried Cranmer, " what lies be these ! that I, being continually in prison, and never suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should procure witness and appoint counsel at Rome. God must needs punish this open and shameless falsehood." When the commission was read, the various Romish vestments, made of canvas by way of insult, were produced, and he was arrayed in them ; a mock mitre was placed on his head, and a mock crozier in his hand. The brutal Bonner then began to scoff at him. " This is the man," cried he, " that hath despised the pope, and now is to be judged by him ! This is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church ! This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament, and now is come to be condemned before that sacrament !" And so he ran on, though Thirlby kept pulling him by the sleeve to remind him of a promise he had made him to treat the archbishop with respect. When they went to take the crozier from him, Cranmer held it fast, and drew from his sleeve an appeal to the next free general council. Thirlby, who was a man of gentle nature and had been very intimate with the primate, shed floods of tears, declared that he sat there against his will, and implored him to recant ; but the vul-

gar-mined Bonner could not conceal his exultation when he saw his metropolitan degraded. "Now you are no longer My Lord," said he; and he continued to speak of him as "this gentleman here."

Cranmer was now civilly degraded, and might be burnt; but his enemies would have him morally degraded also; every engine was therefore set at work to induce him to recant. The dean of Christ-church visited him, and invited him to the deanery. He was there treated with the greatest courtesy, and was induced to play a match at his favourite game of bowls. The conversation, in which John de Villa Garcia, a Spanish friar, lately made professor of theology, bore a leading part, turned much on his condition and prospects; he was assured that the queen felt favourably toward him: "but then," it was added, "her majesty will have Cranmer a catholic, or she will have no Cranmer at all." To these various temptations he at length yielded, and he certainly was induced to make a recantation of some kind, but the matter is involved in great obscurity.

There are in fact not less than six recantations preserved which Cranmer is said to have subscribed. Of these, the fifth alone contains an unequivocal assent to the doctrines of popery; and it has been well asked, if he signed this, why require him to sign the last,—a vague inflated document evidently the composition of Pole? Most of these papers were, from the ambiguous terms employed in them, ("catholic church" for instance) such as might have been subscribed with some reserve of conscience; but sure we are that Ridley and Latimer would never have put their hand to them. The love of life, it is not to be denied, led Cranmer into duplicity, and we have his own assertion that he had written or signed papers containing "many things untrue."

Aware of his duplicity, or determined that it should not save him, the government had sent down the writ for his execution, but his fate was concealed from him. On the day before he was to die, Dr. Cole, who was to preach at

his death, visited him. "Have you continued," said he, "in the catholic faith wherein I left you?" "By God's grace," replied Cranmer, still dissembling, "I shall be daily more confirmed in the catholic faith." Early next morning (Mar. 21) Cole came again, and asked if he had any money; being answered in the negative, he gave him fifteen crowns. He exhorted him to constancy in the faith, and Villa Garcia then came and urged him to sign a seventh recantation, which he would be required to make in public. Cranmer wrote two copies of it, one for himself and another for the friar, but he signed neither. Between nine and ten o'clock he was led forth to be burnt in the place where his friends had suffered, but as the morning was wet the sermon was to be preached in St. Mary's church. He walked thither—now, it would seem, aware of his fate—between two friars, who mumbled psalms as they went; and as they entered the church they sang the *Nunc dimittis*, which must have assured him that his time was come. He was placed on a platform opposite the pulpit, "and when," says one who was present, "he had ascended it he kneeled down and prayed, weeping tenderly, which moved a great number to tears, that had conceived an assured hope of his conversion and repentance." Cole then commenced his sermon, by assigning reasons why in the present case a heretic, though penitent, should be burnt; and when he had gone through them, he added, "There are other reasons which have moved the queen and council to order the execution of the person here present, but which are not meet and convenient for every man's understanding." He then exhorted Cranmer, and assured him that masses and dirges should be chanted for the repose of his soul. He concluded by calling on all present to pray for the prisoner. All knelt. "I think," says the writer, "there was never such a number so earnestly praying together: for they that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion and hope of continuance; they that loved him before, could not suddenly hate him,

having hope of his confession again of his fall. So love and hope increased devotion on every side." Cole then called on Cranmer to perform his promise and make a confession of his faith, so that all might understand that he was a catholic indeed. "I will do it," said Cranmer, "and that with a good will."

He rose, put off his cap, and briefly addressed the people ; then drawing from his sleeve a written prayer repeated it aloud. Having concluded it he knelt down and repeated the Lord's prayer, in which all joined kneeling also. He then rose, and calmly and gravely addressed the people, exhorting them "not to set overmuch by the false glosing world, to obey the king and queen, to love one another like brethren and sistren, to give unto the poor." He then declared his belief in the creed, and in all things taught in the Old and New Testaments. "And now," said he, "I am come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did in my life, and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth ; which here now I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death and to save my life if might be ; and that is all such papers as I have written or signed since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue ; and forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand when I come to the fire shall first be burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and Antichrist with all his false doctrine." At these words murmurs were heard. Lord Williams charged him with dissembling. "Alas, my lord," said he, "I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and until this time never did I dissemble against the truth ; I am most sorry for this my fault, but now is the time in which I must strip off all disguise." He would have spoken more, but Cole cried out, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away."

He was now hurried away to the stake ; he stripped him-

self with haste and stood in his shirt ; when he took off his caps his head appeared quite bald, his beard was white and flowing. He again declared “ that he repented his recantation right sore, whereupon the lord Williams cried ‘ Make short, make short !’ Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part of his body, when his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, ‘ This hand hath offended.’ ” His sufferings were short, as the fire soon blazed fiercely ; his heart was found entire amidst the ashes. “ His patience in the torment,” adds this writer, “ his courage in dying, if it had been for the glory of God, the weal of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, I could worthily have commended the example, and marked it with the fame of any father of ancient time. His death much grieved every man,—his friends for love, his enemies for pity, strangers for a common kind of humanity whereby we are bound to one another*.”

Thus terminated the mortal career of Thomas Cranmer, a man possessed of every virtue but firmness. His talents were not of a high order, and the modesty of his temper made him defer too implicitly to the opinions of others ; but we doubt if he ever, except in the matter of his recantation, acted against his conscience, though, as in the case of Joan Bocher, his conscience was not always well informed. His recantation we feel hardly inclined to regret, it afforded such occasion for the display of the dignity of virtue and the ennobling influence of sincere repentance. “ Let those,” says a writer, whose beautiful reflections we love to quote,† “ let those who require unbending virtue in the most tempestuous times condemn the amiable and faulty primate ; others who are not so certain of their own steadiness will consider his fate as perhaps the most memorable

* The extracts above are from the narrative of a catholic who was present : it is given by Strype in his *Life of Cranmer*.

† Mackintosh, ii. 327.

example in history of a soul which, though debased, is not depraved by an act of weakness, and preserves a heroic courage after the forfeiture of honour, its natural spur, and in general its inseparable companion."

The very day of Cranmer's martyrdom, Pole, who had now at length taken priest's orders, said his first mass, and the next day he was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. Out of decorum he had deferred the ceremony while Cranmer lived, and surely the same feeling might have induced him to defer it a little longer. Many people applied to him the words of the prophet to Ahab concerning Naboth: "Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?" Along with the primacy Pole retained for some time the see of Winchester; and when at length he gave it up to White, he made him covenant to pay him 1000*l.* a-year out of it. Money is said to have been employed at Rome to have this contract, which savoured of simony, allowed. The queen also gave him several estates belonging to the crown. The following year however the vindictive pontiff, who was Pole's personal enemy, revoked his legatine commission, and proposed transferring it to old friar Peto, who was now the queen's confessor, and whom he made a cardinal for the purpose: but Mary firmly supported Pole; the pope's messenger with the hat and letters was stopped at Calais, and the course of the public events at this time impeded all further proceedings.

Philip, who was now at war with France, was anxious to obtain the aid of England: for this purpose he came over in March 1557. He assured the queen that it would be his last visit if he was refused. Mary was of course most desirous of gratifying him, but Pole and other members of the council were decidedly opposed to engaging England in a war for Spanish interests. Fortunately for Philip, just at this time Thomas Stafford, grandson to the last duke of Buckingham, sailed with a small force from Dieppe, landed and seized the old castle of Scarborough, and put forth a proclamation stating that he was come

to deliver the nation from its present thralldom to the Spaniards. But no one joined him, and he was obliged to surrender on the fourth day (April 28) to the earl of Westmoreland. He was brought up to London and beheaded, after being made to confess that the king of France had aided and encouraged him in his enterprise. The resistance of the council, whom the queen had in vain menaced even with a dismissal, was now overcome, and war was declared against France.

The queen, who two years before had had recourse to sundry unjust and violent modes of raising money, put some of them now again in practice, especially that of privy seals, that is letters addressed to persons of substance requiring them to lend the sums specified in them to the crown. To victual a fleet she seized all the corn that could be come at in Norfolk and Suffolk; and having by the aid of impressment raised an army of ten thousand men, she sent it under the earl of Pembroke to join that of Philip in the Low Countries. In order to secure herself against disturbances at home, she put into the Tower such of the gentry as she most suspected, and they were taken thither either by night or muffled up that they might not be recognised.

The Spanish army, when joined by the English auxiliaries, numbered forty thousand men. The duke of Savoy, who commanded it, laid siege to the town of St. Quintin. The constable Montmorency advanced to its relief; but failing in his attempts to throw succour into the town, he was attacked on his retreat by the besieging army, and defeated (Aug. 10) with a loss of three thousand men. The English fleet meantime made descents on various parts of the coast of France. The French however soon had ample revenge on the English queen for her share in the war. The duke of Guise, who had been recalled from Italy, resolved to attempt a plan which had been suggested by the admiral Coligni for surprising Calais. In the month of December he assembled at Compeigne an army of twenty-five thousand men with a large battering train; and while

it was expected that he would attempt the recovery of St. Quintin, he suddenly marched for Calais, and on New Year's Day (1558) he was seen approaching that town. Calais was surrounded by marshes, impassable during the winter, except by a dyke defended by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnam-bridge. The French carried the former by a vigorous assault, and the latter was soon also obliged to surrender; the same was the fate of another castle named the Risbank, which guarded the entrance of the harbour. Batteries were now opened on the town and castle, and the governor, lord Wentworth, was obliged to capitulate (Jan. 7). Guisnes surrendered shortly after; and thus, after a possession of two hundred years, was lost the only acquisition of Edward III. The loss was in truth a real benefit to England, but neither the queen nor the people viewed it in that light; it was regarded as a stain on the national character, and it augmented the already great unpopularity of Mary. She was herself so affected, that when on her death-bed, she said to her attendants, "When I am dead and opened ye shall find Calais lying in my heart."

Parliament when assembled (Jan. 20) made a liberal grant. A fleet was equipped, and sent to make an attempt on the port of Brest in Brittany; but it failed to achieve its object. A small squadron of ten English ships however lent such valuable aid to count Egmont, in his attack at Gravelines on a French force which had invaded Flanders, as enabled him to give it a total overthrow.

The inauspicious reign of Mary was now drawing to its close. She was suffering under disease; she felt that she had lost the affections of even that portion of her people who agreed with her in religious sentiments, by her subserviency to the Spanish councils and by her arbitrary taxation, while her cruelties had drawn on her the well-merited hatred of the protestants. She had also the mournful conviction that she had exercised cruelty to little purpose, as the heresy had been hardly checked by it; and she knew that her successor, however she might now dissemble, se-

cretly held the reformed doctrines, and would probably re-establish them. Finally, her husband, for whom she had forfeited the affection of her subjects, and for whom she felt such extravagant fondness, was negligent if not unkind. Her mind is also said to have been kept in a constant ferment by the paper-war that was carried on against herself and her religion by the exiles at Geneva.

While such was the state of her mind and body she was attacked by the epidemic fever then prevalent, and after languishing for three months she breathed her last (Nov. 17), during the performance of mass in her chamber, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole, who was ill of the same fever, died the following day.

These two exalted personages are striking examples of the evil influence of false religion on the mind and heart. Mary was a woman of virtue, and not devoid of mental powers. On more than one occasion she had exhibited great energy of character. She was constant and sincere in friendship; she was devout, charitable and just*. But unfortunately her religion was a gloomy, sanguinary superstition, which taught that the offering of holocausts of those who dared to use the noblest faculties which the Deity had given them was an acceptable service to a God of mercy, and that promises made to such persons were not to be observed; and hence her character will evermore remain in history as that of a cruel sanguinary bigot. Apart however from religion, the death of the innocent and amiable Jane Gray will al-

* In 1557, lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, seized two gentlemen named Hargil, father and son, with whom he was at variance, and with the aid of his servants put them privately to death in his own house, and buried them in a pit fifteen feet deep. The murder however came to light, and he and four of his servants were found guilty. All the interest made with the queen to save him was of no avail; she would only grant him the favour to be hung with a silken rope. It is to be observed that Lingard takes no notice of this act, so creditable to his heroine; either not approving of her conduct, or not willing to let it be thought that a catholic could commit a crime, or fearful of offending the catholic descendants of the criminal.

ways prove that the nature of Mary was harsh and unrelenting.

The cardinal was a man of letters, polished in manners and virtuous in mind, generous, humane, and to a certain extent liberal in feeling; yet religion made him a traitor to his sovereign and benefactor, a scurrilous libeller, and a persecutor even unto death of those who dissented from his creed: for though it may be true that he did not urge on the persecution, he always assented to it; and not a week before his death, five persons, the last of the victims whom his own certificate had given over to the secular arm, were burnt in his diocese.

With the deaths of Mary, Pole, and Gardiner, ended for ever the dominion of popery in England. The cruelties perpetrated by them were even of advantage to the reformed faith. The English nation is naturally averse from cruelty, and the sight of the constancy and even exultation with which the martyrs met their fate, while it caused pity and admiration for the sufferers, inspired a natural favour toward the religion which enabled men to die thus cheerfully, and raised doubts as to the truth of the system which required the aid of the stake and faggot. Hence many who were catholics at the commencement of Mary's reign were protestants at its close; and hence her successor found so little difficulty in establishing the reformed faith. The number who perished in the flames during the four years of the persecution was little short of three hundred*, of

* Speed says 274, Burnet 284, Collins 290. Lord Burleigh (Strype, Eccles. Mem. chap. lxiv.) states the number who perished in this reign by imprisonments, torments, famine and fire at 400, of whom 290 were burnt. We should be glad to know on what authority Dr. Lingard says that "*almost* 200 persons perished in the flames for religious opinion." It is not his usual oracle the veracious Sanders, for *he* exultingly says there were some hundreds: his words deserve to be quoted: "*Legibus etiam antiquis,*" says he, "*de puniendis hæreticis iterum zelo principe Christiano dignissimo renovatis non solum ille [Cranmer] sed aliquot pseudoprophetarum centuriæ sunt sublatae.*" p. 231.

whom more than a sixth were women, and some were children and even babes*. There were five prelates and twenty-one of the other clergy among the victims. We find eight gentlemen noticed, but none of the nobles or knights who had obtained the spoil of the abbeys.

* Lord Burleigh further says that there were more than 60 women and 40 children among the sufferers, and that of the former "some were great with child, out of whose bodies the child by fire was expelled alive, and yet also cruelly burnt." Dr. Lingard rejects this as resting solely on the authority of Foxe, who he says was refuted by Harding and Persons: he does not find it convenient it would seem to notice lord Burleigh's testimony.

CHAPTER IX.*

ELIZABETH.

1558—1565.

Accession of Elizabeth;—her coronation.—The Reformation established.—Foreign affairs.—Affairs of Scotland.—Return of Mary to Scotland.—Relative situation of Elizabeth and Mary.—Suitors to the British queens.—Mary and Darnley.—their marriage.—Flight of Murray and his friends.

ELIZABETH was proclaimed immediately on the death of her sister. Bonfires and illuminations testified the joy of the people and their hopes of happier days. A deputation of the council repaired next day to Hatfield to convey to the new queen the tidings of her accession. She fell on her knees and said, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes." Acting under the advice of sir William Cecil, who had long been in communication with her, she declared her intention of continuing most of the late queen's counsellors in their offices†. The necessary regulations were forthwith made respecting public affairs, and on the 23rd the queen set out for London. She was met at Highgate by the bishops, to all of whom, except Bonner, she gave a gracious reception. She lay that night at the Charterhouse, the residence of lord North, and proceeded next day (Nov. 25) to the Tower. The thoughts of the change in her condition since she had entered that royal fortress a prisoner, awoke her religious feelings, and she fell on her knees and returned thanks to Heaven.

* Authorities : Camden and the Chroniclers : Burnet, Strype, &c.

† Those whom she retained (who of course were catholics) were archbishop Heath, chancellor ; marquess Winchester, treasurer ; earls Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, Pembroke ; lords Clinton and Howard of Effingham ; sirs T. Cheyney, W. Petre, J. Mason, Rich, Sackville ; and Dr. Boxall. To these she added the following Protestants : marquess Northampton ; earl Bedford ; sirs T. Parry, E. Rogers, A. Cave, F. Knolles, W. Cecil, N. Bacon.

One of the earliest measures adopted had been to send to inform foreign princes of the death of the late and the accession of the present queen. Lord Cobham was appointed to convey the tidings to king Philip, expressing at the same time the queen's gratitude for the friendship he had shown her during the late reign. Philip in return, through his ambassador the duke of Feria, offered his hand to Elizabeth, assuring her that he would obtain the requisite dispensation from Rome. But every motive, both public and private, operated in the queen's mind against this match. The nation was so adverse to the Spanish connection that by continuing it she would forfeit her popularity; and as Philip and she were related in the same degree as her father and Catherine of Aragon had been, it would be in effect acknowledging that her mother's marriage was not valid and her own birth not legitimate. She therefore declined the proposed union in the most civil terms.

Her accession was also notified at Rome, but the intemperate old man who occupied the seat of infallibility replied, that as England was a fief of the Holy See it was great presumption in her to assume the title and authority of queen, and that being illegitimate she could not inherit: however, if she would renounce all title to the crown and submit entirely to his will, she should be treated with all the lenity consistent with the dignity of the Holy See. These impotent assumptions were of no effect; Elizabeth little heeded the authority of the pontiff, and she had commenced the changes she intended in religion long before his answer could arrive.

The prudence of Elizabeth, and of her chief adviser Cecil, led them to proceed very cautiously. The first step was to put an end to the persecution; those therefore who were in prison for their religion were released on their own recognizances.

On the other hand, the late queen's obsequies were performed (Dec. 13) according to the rites of the Romish

church. White, bishop of Winchester, preached the funeral sermon ; but as he took occasion to deliver an inflammatory discourse, he received an order to keep his house. When intelligence arrived (Dec. 23) of the death of the emperor Charles V. a solemn dirge and requiem were ordered to be performed for the repose of his soul ; but Elizabeth forbade the host to be elevated in her own chapel, and she directed that a part of the service should be performed in English. Many of the reformers had already returned from exile ; they were favourably received at court, but preaching was prohibited without the royal licence. Archbishop Heath, seeing the course matters were taking, resigned the seals, which were committed to sir Nicholas Bacon with the title of lord-keeper.

The 15th of January, 1559, was the day appointed for the coronation. On the 14th the queen left the Tower and proceeded through the city in a splendid carriage, preceded by the trumpeters and heralds, and followed by a train of nobles, ladies and gentlemen on horseback, all richly attired in crimson velvet. The shouts of the joyous multitudes filled the air as she passed along, and the companies of the city displayed their feelings and their taste in the manner of the age by erecting gorgeous *pageants*, as they were named, across the streets. On one appeared the eight Beatitudes, suitably habited, each of which was appropriately ascribed to the queen. At the conduit in Cheapside another exhibited the opposite images of a decayed and a flourishing commonwealth ; from a cave beneath issued Time, leading forth his daughter Truth, who presented an English Bible to the queen ; Elizabeth took the book, pressed it to her heart and lips, and said she thanked the City more for it than for all the cost that had been bestowed on her, and that she would often read it over. At the end of Cheapside the recorder met her and presented her with a purse containing 1000 marks in gold, which weighty gift she received in both her hands. The giants Gog and Magog reared their huge forms over Tem-

ple bar holding out to her their Latin verses, and a child, "richly arrayed as a poet," pronounced a farewell in the name of the corporation of London.

The coronation took place next day. Heath and some other bishops did not appear, but the greater part gave their attendance, arrayed in scarlet like the temporal nobles, and the ceremony was performed in the usual manner by Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle. On the following morning, it being usual on such occasions to release prisoners, as the queen was on her way to her chapel one of the courtiers presented to her a petition, beseeching her that now this good time four or five principal prisoners more might be released; these were the four Evangelists and St. Paul, who had been long shut up in an unknown tongue, so that they could not converse with the common people. She replied with great gravity that it were better first to inquire of themselves whether they would be released or not.

The queen was now twenty-five years of age. In person she was above the middle size, well-formed and majestic. Her skin was fair, her hair yellow inclining to red, her eyes bright and lively, her nose rather aquiline. Her manners were affable, graceful and dignified; her mind was highly cultivated; she could express herself with grace and ease in Latin, French and Italian, and in the school of adversity she had learned wisdom. Such was the woman whose destiny it was to sway the British sceptre with a dignity unknown to antecedent or succeeding monarchs.

On the 25th the parliament met. The same causes, namely influence on the part of the government, the zeal of those who favoured it, and the depression of those of opposite sentiments, which had given a catholic parliament in the beginning of the late reign, now returned one zealous for the Reformation. Its first act was a recognition of Elizabeth as the "lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown, lawfully descended of the blood-royal" according to the order of succession settled in the 35th Hen. VIII.

The queen, in all things superior to her predecessor, did not, like her, ostentatiously seek a declaration of the validity of her mother's marriage, and thus throw obloquy on her father and revive the memory of events that were better forgotten. All that was requisite was implied in the words "lawfully descended of the blood-royal." Bills for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the crown, and for re-establishing the supremacy, were introduced and carried in spite of the strenuous opposition of the bishops. By the last the queen, who was styled Governess (not Head) of the Church, was invested with the whole spiritual power, to make or repeal canons, alter discipline and ceremonies, suppress heresies, etc., without consulting parliament or convocation. Whoever refused to acknowledge the supremacy, was declared incapable of holding office; whoever denied it, or sought to deprive the queen of it, was to forfeit his goods and chattels for the first offence, to incur a *præmunire* for the second, the third was treason. The queen was to nominate directly to bishopricks, and the bishops were forbidden to alienate the revenues of their sees or make leases for more than twenty-one years. But as an exception was made in favour of the crown, the church derived but little advantage from this well-meant measure.

A bill for restoring the English liturgy was next brought in; but the matter was considered of so much importance, that it was deemed advisable that it should be previously disputed between the two religious parties. Eight champions were chosen on each side; the most distinguished of the Romanists were bishops White and Watson, dean Cole and archdeacon Harpsfield; of the protestants, Scory, Jewel, Aylmer, Cox, Grindal and Horne. The archbishop of York and lord-keeper Bacon presided; the place was Westminster Abbey; the questions proposed were, Whether it is not against the Word of God and the custom of the ancient church to use an unknown language in the public service of the church; whether every church has

not a right to appoint rites and ceremonies, so it be done to edification; whether it can be proved from Scripture that there is a propitiatory sacrifice in the mass.

On Friday, the 31st of March, the dispute began in the presence of the privy council and both houses of parliament. Though it was to be managed in writing, and ten days' notice had been given, the Romish party said they had nothing written, alleging want of time; but they offered to give some extemporaneous arguments for the retention of a foreign language. Their motives for acting thus were sufficiently obvious, but their offer was accepted. Dean Cole then rose, well provided with papers of notes, and, prompted by his colleagues, delivered some of the poor arguments by which this absurd practice is defended, well seasoned with abuse of the reformers; he concluded by observing, that nothing is more inexpedient than to bring religious rites down to the level of the vulgar, for that *ignorance is the mother of devotion*. An able reply was read by Dr. Horne, which drew forth great applause. The Romanists saying they had more arguments to urge, the debate was adjourned to the following Monday, on which day they raised various objections; they refused to begin, alleging that the protestants would have the advantage by speaking last; the assembly broke up; White and Watson were committed to the Tower for contempt; three other bishops and three of their divines were heavily fined, in conformity with the arbitrary mode of proceeding which extended to all matters in that age.

The Act of Uniformity, as it is styled, was now introduced and passed; the bishops and eight temporal peers alone dissenting. This act directs that king Edward's second service-book, as altered by the committee of divines appointed for the purpose, should alone be used. The penalties imposed on those ministers who should use any other service were,—forfeiture of goods and chattels for the first offence, a year's imprisonment for the second, imprisonment for life for the third. A fine of one shilling

was imposed on those who should absent themselves from church on Sundays and holidays*.

The Reformation was thus finally and effectually established. The parliament concluded its labours by the grant of a subsidy, followed by a respectful but urgent address to the queen, praying her to make choice of a husband. She thanked them for their zeal, but assured them that she regarded herself as solemnly espoused to her kingdom at her coronation, and that she viewed her subjects as her children, and desired no fairer remembrance of her to go down to posterity than this inscription on her tomb: "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

The new liturgy came into use on St. John the Baptist's day. The oath of supremacy was tendered to the bishops and clergy. Of the prelates, Kitchen of Llandaff alone would take it; the others were deprived of their sees, as also were about one hundred dignitaries and eighty parish priests: the great body of the clergy took the oath without hesitation. No fires were kindled for the recusants; they remained at their liberty till the following winter, when they began to attack the reformation openly. For this several of them were committed to prison. Bonner was confined in the Marshalsea, where he remained for the rest of his life, indulging to the last in the pleasures of the table, to which he was devoted. Tunstal passed the short remnant of his days at Lambeth, where he met with every attention; the same palace was the domicile of Thirlby; Bourne was sent to reside with the dean of Exeter; Heath spent the remainder of his life at his estate at Cobham in Surrey, where the queen often visited him. Some died, others went abroad. The places of the deprived prelates

* Dr. Lingard (vii. 384) undertakes to show what was the real difference between the old and the new religion; and according to *that* statement it is so slight as to leave the reformers very little excuse. Let, however, any one who wishes to see the real difference, pass from England to Spain or Portugal.

were supplied by the most eminent protestants. Dr. Matthew Parker, a man of great learning and piety, who had been chaplain to the queen's mother, was selected for the see of Canterbury. He was consecrated (Dec. 17) by four of the bishops who had been deprived in the late reign.

Having thus brought the domestic affairs of the country to the close of the first year of Elizabeth's reign, we will now turn our eyes to its foreign relations.

The late queen had left her successor a legacy of a war with both France and Scotland; but negotiations for a general peace had been commenced at Cercamp, and were now continued at Cateau-Cambresis. The differences between the kings of France and Spain were easily arranged, but Philip, as bound in honour, insisted on the restitution of Calais to his English ally. To this the French cabinet was by no means disposed to assent, and Philip's zeal cooled when he found he had no prospect of the queen's hand; he however offered to continue the war on account of it provided she would engage not to make peace for six years. But to the prudence of Elizabeth and her ministers, the possession of Calais, even if it could be recovered, seemed so inadequate to the cost likely to be incurred, that they rejected the proposal, and the English envoys were directed to make peace on any reasonable terms. It was therefore agreed that Henry should retain Calais for eight years, and if he did not then restore it he should pay 500,000 crowns, and the queen's title should remain; but that if during that time Elizabeth made war on France or Scotland she should forfeit Calais, which on the other hand Henry should restore immediately if *he* were the first to break the peace. It was plain that this was only a decent pretext for abandoning Calais, and the judicious saw in it grounds for admiring the queen's good sense and prudence. A general peace was now concluded (April 2), and Philip, giving up all thoughts of the queen of England, married the French king's daughter Elizabeth, who had been betrothed to his son Don Carlos.

One difference of no small moment remained between Elizabeth and the king of France. Following the unnatural practice then so common*, he had caused the dauphin and the queen of Scotland to be married in 1558, though the prince had not passed his fifteenth year, and on the death of Mary he made them assume the arms of England; for according to the papal rules Elizabeth was illegitimate, and the queen of Scots was the next heir on the hereditary principle. When Elizabeth's ambassadors complained, it was replied that Elizabeth styled herself queen of France, and that Mary, as being of the blood-royal of England, had a right to bear its arms. But this was all mere evasion; the quartering the arms of France with those of England was no new device of Elizabeth's, and at most it could only be regarded as a piece of national vanity; whereas the act of the dauphin and queen, as it was not done in Mary's reign, evidently showed an intention of disputing the throne of England with Elizabeth. The settlement of this point however was reserved, and the young royal pair signed as parties the peace of Cateau-Cambresis.

Elizabeth was fully aware that it was the secret intention of the court of France to endeavour to make good the claim of Mary to the crown of England. She knew that application had been made at Rome to have her excommunicated, which had only been prevented by the influence of king Philip. As it was reckoned that *her* catholic subjects would aid her rival, policy suggested the expediency of forming a connexion with Mary's protestant subjects. Hence arose the great interest which the court of England found it necessary to take in the internal affairs of Scotland. We must therefore enter somewhat minutely into the history of that country at the present conjuncture.

The moderate temper of the queen-regent of Scotland

* Mrs. Hutchinson (Life of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 26, 4to edit.) relates of one of the Byron family, that he was married so young, that "when the first child was born, the father, mother and child could not make one and thirty years old."

made her indisposed to persecute. The reformed doctrines therefore gradually advanced, and many of those who fled from the tyranny of the fanatic queen of England found a refuge in the northern kingdom. There is a sternness and a self-sufficiency in the Scottish character unknown to the English, and nowhere is this more manifested than in the progress of the Reformation in the two countries. In England it was conducted with mildness and decorum, merely cutting off superfluities and abolishing unscriptural rites and practices; in Scotland it was wild, destructive, and fanatic. Moreover, while the English protestants only sought toleration from their bigoted queen, their Scottish brethren would be content with nothing short of the utter abolition of the old religion. On the 3rd of December, 1557, their leaders, the earls of Argyle, Morton and Glencairn, and other nobles, met at Edinburgh and entered into a private association styled the Congregation of the Lord, binding themselves to struggle to the uttermost against "Satan in his members the antichrist of their time." This convention remained for some time a secret. Meantime the primate Hamilton seized a priest named Mill, and had him tried and condemned for heresy at St. Andrew's, but it was with difficulty a civil judge could be got to pronounce sentence on him, and on the day of the execution the shops were all shut; no one would sell a rope to tie him to the stake, and the primate was obliged to furnish one himself. Mill died of course with constancy; the people raised a pile of stones on the spot in commemoration of him; the clergy removed the stones, but still the pile was renewed. Soon after, when the image of St. Giles, the patron-saint of Edinburgh, was carried in procession, the people, as soon as the queen-regent withdrew, fell on and drove off the priests, seized the idol, threw it in the mire and broke it to pieces.

The lords of the Congregation, emboldened by these manifest indications of the popular feeling, and by the tidings of the death of Mary and accession of Elizabeth, ventured

to petition the regent for the reformation of the church and of the "wicked, scandalous and detestable lives" of the prelates and clergy. The regent temporised till she had obtained the matrimonial crown for the dauphin, and might have conceded some of their demands, but that she received directions from her brothers, the Guises, who now directed everything at the court of France, to check the new opinions. As usual, she submitted her own good sense to their will. She had the principal reformed teachers cited before the council at Stirling. Such numbers of their followers came to protect them that she feared an insurrection; but on a promise, as is said, that no harm should befall their ministers, the people dispersed. Sentence, however, was passed on them as rebels on their non-appearance. The people enraged resolved on opposing the regent and the clergy with arms.

While matters were in this state the celebrated John Knox returned to Scotland. Knox, a man of stern unbending nature, actuated by principle alone, far above all sordid selfish considerations, but narrow in mind and only moderately learned, had adopted in their utmost extent the rigid principles of Calvin, the apostle of Geneva. Gospel truth (in his own sense of the term) he held to be paramount to all considerations, and all the laws of society should yield before it. Hence Knox was found to vindicate even the murder of cardinal Beaton. This daring man now (May 11) ascended the pulpit at Perth and poured forth a torrent of declamation against the tenets and practices of the church of Rome. When he concluded a priest had the folly to prepare to celebrate mass; but the people, who had been wrought up to a high degree of fanaticism by the eloquence of Knox, rushed forward, seized and destroyed his holy implements, then tore the pictures, broke the images and overthrew the altars. They thence proceeded, their numbers increasing as they went, to the convents of the grey, black and white friars, where they drove out the inmates and pillaged and destroyed the buildings.

The precedent was followed at Cupar in Fife, which was *reformed*, as the phrase was, in a similar manner.

The regent, on receiving the intelligence, advanced with what troops she had toward Perth. She was joined by Arran (now duke of Chatelherault in France), Argyle, James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, and other lords of the reformed party, while Glencairn and others led their retainers to the support of the Congregation. They were so formidable in numbers and evinced such a determined spirit of fanaticism and intolerance, that the regent, dubious of the event of a conflict, agreed to an accommodation. She was then admitted into Perth. But it was soon asserted that she had violated the conditions; the Congregation, now joined by Argyle and the prior, again took arms; Knox became their animating spirit, and Anstruther, Scone, Stirling and other places were *reformed* as Perth had been. They advanced to Edinburgh, where they were admitted by the people, who had already reformed their city. The queen took refuge at Dunbar; but the usual causes having acted to increase her strength and diminish that of her adversaries, a new accommodation was agreed to, and she regained possession of Edinburgh (July 12). Soon after troops came from France to her support, and she stationed them at Leith, which she had fortified.

Henry II. of France, having lost his life by an accident at the tournament celebrated in honour of his sister's marriage with the duke of Savoy, was succeeded by the dauphin under the title of Francis II., and the power of the Guises was now without limits. The young sovereigns styled themselves king and queen of England. The design of making Scotland and eventually England a dependency of France, and of putting down the Reformation, was still retained. Additional troops were collected to be sent to the former kingdom. The Congregation saw that if not supported by England they ran risk of being crushed; they therefore sent Maitland of Lethington and Robert Melvill in secret to London. Cecil stated to his royal mistress the

various reasons which not only justified but rendered imperative on her the support of the applicants. Her scruples about treating with the subjects of another prince gave way. She concluded a treaty with the lords of the Congregation, promising never to desist till the French had evacuated Scotland. Admiral Winter was sent with a fleet of fifteen sail to the firth of Forth, and an army of eight thousand men was assembled on the borders.

The French troops had surprised Stirling and were laying Fifeshire waste when the appearance of Winter's fleet forced them to return to Leith, where they were besieged by the congregationalists. A treaty for peace was now set on foot at Newcastle, whither Elizabeth sent Cecil and Wotton to meet the French ministers. While it was going on the queen-regent died (June 11, 1560). It was then removed to Edinburgh, and it was finally agreed that the French should evacuate Scotland; that twelve persons, seven to be selected by the queen, five by the parliament, should govern the kingdom, and that war or peace should not be made without the consent of the parliament. By a separate treaty with Elizabeth, Francis and Mary were to renounce the title of king and queen of England. These princes however refused to ratify the treaty, under pretext that the Scots had not fulfilled the conditions, and that Elizabeth continued to support them.

In France itself at this time the protestants formed a numerous party: their heads were the prince of Condé, the admiral Coligni and his brother Andelot. The persecution against them, which had been begun by Francis I., was still kept up, and from the furious bigotry of the Guises was likely to be aggravated. Community of interest naturally made them look to the queen of England, and Thogmorton her ambassador entered into communication with them. An attempt was made to seize the young king at Amboise, but it failed, and the hopes of the reformers were crushed for a time. But the aspect of affairs in France soon underwent a considerable change. Francis, who was a puny

delicate youth, died (Dec. 5), and the queen-dowager, Catherine de' Medici, became regent for the minority of her son Charles IX.; the king of Navarre, whom the Guises had thrown into prison, was liberated and made lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the prince of Condé, who had been condemned to death, was also set at liberty; the constable Montmorenci was recalled to court, and a counterpoise to the power of the Guises was thus formed.

The widowed queen finding the court where she had ruled no longer an agreeable abode, retired to that of her uncles in Lorraine. She still persevered in refusing to ratify the treaty with Elizabeth. Her subjects sent praying her to return to her own kingdom; her uncles urged her to the same course; the ill-feeling which prevailed between her and the queen-mother assured her that she could never expect happiness in France. She therefore assented to a departure, and her minister D'Oysell was sent to England to ask a safe passage for himself and for his royal mistress to Scotland. Elizabeth received him in the presence of her whole court, and in a tone of strong emotion refused both requests unless the treaty of Edinburgh were ratified. "Let your queen," said she, "ratify the treaty, and she shall experience on my part, either by sea or by land, whatever can be expected from a queen, a relation, or a neighbour." When Mary was informed of this refusal she remonstrated in very spirited terms with Throgmorton against the conduct of Elizabeth. Another envoy however was sent to London, and as Mary intimated her intentions of being guided by the advice of her council in Scotland, Elizabeth declared herself content to "suspend her conceit of unkindness;" and in answer to the report that was made of her having sent a fleet to intercept her, she assured her that she had only at the desire of the king of Spain sent two or three small barks to sea in pursuit of some Scottish pirates.

Mary, accompanied by her uncles and many lords and ladies of the court of France, proceeded to Calais, where

she embarked (Aug. 14, 1561). Just as she was leaving the harbour, a vessel was lost in her sight. "Good God," cried she, "what an omen for a voyage!" She stood leaning with both arms on the poop, and the tears streamed from her eyes as she regarded the country she was leaving. She continually repeated, "Farewell, France! farewell, France!" When it was growing dark and she was summoned down to supper, her tears flowed more plentifully, and she cried "It is now, my dear France, that I lose sight of thee; I shall never see thee more." A bed was prepared for her on the poop, and she directed the steersman to awake her at daybreak if the coast of France were still in sight. The man called her as desired. She gazed till the coast receded from her view. "Farewell, France," said she; "it is over; I shall never see thee again." The English squadron met and saluted her. It searched the baggage ships for pirates, and detained one which was suspected. On the third day a dense fog came on which obliged them to cast anchor in the open sea, and the next day (Aug. 19) the queen landed at Leith. Though she came before the appointed time, and the due preparations had not therefore been made to receive her, the people all crowded down to the port to evince their loyalty; but the queen and her retinue could get no better conveyances to the palace of Holyrood than the paltry horses of the country, and these ill caparisoned. "Are these," cried she, "the pomps, the splendours, and the superb animals on which I used to ride in France?" In the evening a concert of barbarous and discordant music performed before her windows to testify the joy of her subjects grated the ears of Mary and her French attendants.

The young queen was now in her nineteenth year. Her person was tall and elegant, her face handsome if not beautiful*; her abilities were considerable, her manners were

* We express ourselves thus, because in some undoubtedly genuine portraits of Mary her face is not by any means what we should consider beautiful.

highly polished. She had been brought up in a court where the serpent too frequently lurked beneath the roses; treachery, falsehood and cruelty hiding themselves under the covert of honeyed words and wreathed smiles, and where dissoluteness of manners prevailed to a degree elsewhere unknown. She had also been reared in a bigoted adherence to the tenets and practices of popery. She was come to a country poor and semi-barbarous, where deeds of violence and treachery were openly enacted; where the Reformation had breathed its sternest spirit, little mitigated by the Gospel precepts of peace and charity; where the reformed clergy, led by the fanatic Knox, sought to deprive mankind of most of the innocent pleasures of life, and viewed the masks, the dances, the banquets in which the queen naturally took delight, as sinful abominations.

Between a sovereign and a people of such opposite characters long-continued harmony could hardly be expected to prevail. Yet Mary's reign was for some years happy and prosperous. For this she was indebted to her following the advice of her uncles and giving her confidence to her half-brother the prior of St. Andrew's (whom she raised to the dignity of earl of Mar, and soon after to that of Moray or Murray), the head of the protestant party and a man of honour, probity and ability. She also held occasional conferences with the rugged Knox, and bore his uncourteous animadversions with no little patience. Yet all the while her fixed design was the overthrow of the reformed religion. In 1562, when some zealots presented a petition for the suppression of the Romish worship, she angrily replied that she hoped before another year to have the mass restored throughout the whole kingdom. On the 10th of May in the following year (1563) her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, read her letters to the council of Trent professing her submission to its authority, and promising if she succeeded to the throne of England to subject both kingdoms to the Holy See. We are further assured that she was a subscribing party to the famous

Holy League concluded at Bayonne in 1565 for the extermination of the protestants. Surely it is not possible that the intentions of Mary with respect to religion could have escaped the knowledge of Elizabeth and her wise minister Cecil ; and was it not therefore their duty to guard against her having the power to carry these designs into effect ?

The queen of Scots, we have seen, laid claim to the throne of England ; and supposing the divorce of Henry VIII. not to have been legal, and the power of parliament to limit the succession not paramount, her claim was irresistible. The catholics in general took this view of the case. On the other hand, Henry, by his will, sanctioned by parliament, devised the crown after his own children to the issue of his younger sister the queen of France by the duke of Suffolk ; and many of the protestants, such as Cecil and Bacon, favoured this line. The general feeling however was on the side of the elder or Scottish branch, and Elizabeth herself seems to have viewed the queen of Scots as her true heir, though she was probably secretly determined to keep the matter in uncertainty as long as she lived. By an act of great harshness and even cruelty she at this time put it nearly out of her own power to exclude the queen of Scots.

The lady Catherine Grey, next sister to the lady Jane, had been married to the son of the earl of Pembroke, but on the fall of her family that time-serving nobleman had them divorced. Catherine was afterwards privately married to the earl of Hertford, son of the Protector. Her pregnancy revealed the secret, and Elizabeth, who could not bear that others should enjoy those delights of love from which she excluded herself, sent the lovers to the Tower. As they were unable to prove their marriage the primate pronounced a divorce ; but their keepers allowing them to meet, the birth of a second child was the result. Hertford was heavily fined, and detained in prison till his unhappy wife sank under the ill-treatment she received, and

died. The legitimacy of their children was acknowledged in a subsequent reign.

Shortly after her arrival in Scotland Mary sent Maitland of Lethington to Elizabeth to propose a friendly alliance, but at the same time requiring to be declared successor to the throne. Elizabeth insisted on the execution of the treaty of Edinburgh; she declared that in such case she would do nothing to prejudice the rights of Mary; but she said that her own experience when she was at Hatfield had convinced her how dangerous to the present possessor of power it was to have a designated successor, who would thus become a rallying point for the disaffected*. This was a subject on which all through her reign Elizabeth was remarkably jealous, and though, as we have said, she secretly favoured the hereditary principle, she never would declare herself. The two queens notwithstanding kept up an amicable intercourse by letters, and at one time proposed a personal interview at York, which however did not take place; in consequence of Elizabeth's vanity and jealousy, according to those writers who take a delight in assigning little paltry motives to the actions of this great princess. To us the conduct of Elizabeth toward Mary at this period seems to have been as cordial and friendly as was consistent with her station as the head of the protestant party in Great Britain, and the obstinate retention by Mary of her claim to the crown of England.

It was a curious circumstance that the rulers of the two British kingdoms should be both young women, both handsome, both single. Their hands were therefore naturally objects of ambition to foreign princes, and the disposal of them matter of solicitude to their subjects. The English parliament were particularly anxious that their

* About the end of the year 1566 Elizabeth said to the French ambassador, "There are two things in the way of a full reconciliation with the queen of Scots: 1st. that she will not confess that she has offended me; 2nd. that she is about, as I foresee, to demand of me somewhat which I cannot grant, because it is more dangerous and pernicious to me than it is convenient and advantageous to her."—*Raumer, Hist. of 16th and 17th Centuries*, ii. 93.

sovereign should marry, as her having issue would secure a protestant succession, and preclude the collision which might ensue between the hereditary claims of the descendants of Margaret and the parliamentary title of those of Mary Tudor, the daughters of Henry VII. But the masculine and arbitrary temper of Elizabeth had early brought her to a secret determination never to give herself a master, and though she gave her parliament fair words, and coquetted with some of her suitors, there does not appear any reason to suppose that she seriously thought on marriage. We will here enumerate her principal suitors at this time.

When Philip of Spain had given up all hopes of obtaining the hand of Elizabeth himself, he put forward the pretensions of his cousin Charles archduke of Austria, in the design of counterbalancing the influence of France in the British island. Some of Elizabeth's leading nobles were strongly in favour of this match, and it continued for some years to be the subject of discussion. Eric king of Sweden, Adolf duke of Holstein and some other princes also sought her hand. The Scottish parliament in 1560 prayed her to marry the earl of Arran. Catherine de' Medici at a later period offered her son the duke of Anjou to the English queen.

The females of the royal family in England had at all times matched with subjects, and we have seen the parliament petition the late queen to marry a subject. It need not surprise us therefore to find nobles aspiring to the hand of Elizabeth. The earl of Arundel, though several years her senior, long cherished hopes; sir William Pickering, a man possessed of beauty of person, cultivation of mind and great taste in the arts, was for some time thought to stand high in the favour of the maiden queen. But all were eclipsed by the charms of lord Robert Dudley.

Dudley was son to the infamous Northumberland. He had been committed to the Tower with the rest of his family, but he was early set at liberty; and by the graces

of his manners and his ready assiduity he won the favour of both Philip and Mary, by whom he was frequently employed. At Elizabeth's entrance into London he appeared in her train as master of the horse, and wealth and honours were gradually showered on him. Dudley, we must observe, was at this time a married man, having espoused Amy the heiress of sir John Robsart; and few we should think but such writers as Sanders and Lingard will ascribe wantonness to Elizabeth. In fact with all her dignity and greatness of mind she was by nature a coquette; she loved admiration, and she had inherited her father's partiality for handsome attendants; like him too she was apt to indulge in a coarse and what might seem to us an indelicate familiarity in language and action, which malicious minds could easily misinterpret. Moreover, at this time she had not the remotest thought of marrying.

Of this Dudley probably was not aware, and he may have thought that his wife was the only obstacle to his gaining the hand of the queen. This throws great suspicion over the death of that lady, which occurred at this time (1560). He sent her, on what account is not known, under the charge of Sir Richard Verney, one of his retainers, to a mansion named Cumnor Hall in Berkshire, held by another of his dependents named Anthony Foster. Her death took place shortly after, owing it was said to an accidental fall down stairs. Suspicions of foul play naturally arose, and Lever, a prebendary of Coventry, a pious minister who resided near the place, wrote to secretaries Cecil and Knowles praying that inquiry might be made. Whether it was done or not we have no certain information, but Dudley appears to have been fully cleared in the queen's mind, though by his enemies and the public he continued to be in some sort "infamed for the death of his wife," as Cecil expressed it.

The hand of the other British queen was also sought by many. The archduke Charles was a suitor to her also; Philip offered her his son Don Carlos; the king of Navarre would, it is said, willingly have divorced his heretical queen

Jane d'Albret to marry the queen of Scotland, to whom Catherine proposed a union with another of her sons. Some of the petty princes of Italy also aspired to the widowed queen.

Mary was differently situated from Elizabeth; the latter had only her own inclinations to consult, while from the circumstance of differing in religion from the great bulk of her subjects, who looked up to Elizabeth as their protectress, Mary could not safely venture on any match which would not meet the approbation of that princess, who, as well as the Scottish reformers, was extremely adverse to her marrying any one but a protestant. It was a delicate matter for Elizabeth to manage, as it seemed almost unwarrantable interference in the concerns of an independent sovereign. Still the safety of England and of the protestant religion was paramount to all considerations. In November 1563 Cecil drew up instructions on this subject for Randolph, the English minister at Edinburgh, in which he stated the reasons that ought to influence Mary in her choice, viz. the mutual affection of the parties; the approval of her own subjects; the friendship of Elizabeth, who he said would not be satisfied at a foreign match. He was desired to hint that "nothing would content Elizabeth so much as Mary's choice of some noble person within the kingdom of England having the qualities and conditions meet for such an alliance*, and therewith be agreeable to both queens and both their nations." Accordingly Randolph suggested lord Robert Dudley, accompanied it would seem with some favourable prospects respecting the succession. Mary made an evasive reply, alleging that her friends would hardly agree that she should "embase herself so far as that." Dudley himself, who aspired to the hand of Elizabeth, felt no great inclination for the Scottish match; but the negotiations for it still went on, and on the 5th of February 1565 Randolph wrote that Mary was inclined to

* At this part is added, in Elizabeth's own hand-writing, "Yea, perchance such as she could hardly think we could agree unto."

marry him. But now Elizabeth began to fluctuate. "I see," writes Cecil, "the queen's majesty very desirous to have my lord of Leicester* the Scottish queen's husband; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded I see her then remiss of her earnestness." In these words, written from one minister to another where there could be no intention to deceive, we have the key to Elizabeth's conduct in this intricate business.

In the meantime Mary had turned her thoughts to another English subject. Margaret Tudor queen of Scots had by her second husband the earl of Angus a daughter, whom Henry VIII. gave in marriage, with an estate in England, to Matthew Stuart earl of Lennox when he was driven out of Scotland by the regent Arran. Lord Darnley therefore, Lennox's eldest son, was on the father's side of the blood royal of Scotland, on the mother's of that of England, and being a protestant might prove a formidable rival to Mary for the English crown. Mary with a view to this had kept up a correspondence with the earl and countess of Lennox. In the autumn of 1564, probably by Mary's invitation, the earl went to Scotland to try to obtain a reversal of his attainder and the restoration of his estates and honours; Elizabeth not merely giving her permission, but recommending him strongly to Mary, whom at the same time she warned to take care of offending the Hamiltons, the present possessors of Lennox's estates. Lennox was re-

* In 1564 Elizabeth, with a view to his marriage with Mary, created Dudley earl of Leicester and baron Denbigh. "It was done," says Melvill, "with great solemnity, the queen herself helping to put on his ceremonial (mantle), he sitting upon his knees before her with a great gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, smilingly tickling him; the French ambassador and I standing by." Could this be anything but playfulness, like her father's putting his arm round sir T. More's neck, like Napoleon's pinching his favourite's ears? She had said of him to Melvill a little before that "she esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she would have herself married had she ever minded to have taken a husband; but being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished the queen her sister might marry him as meetest of all others with (for) whom she could find it in her heart to declare her second person."

ceived with great distinction by his royal kinswoman ; she effected an accommodation between him and Chatelherault, the head of the house of Hamilton ; and by inducing lady Lennox to drop her claim on the earldom of Angus, she prevented any opposition from the potent house of Douglas. In the month of December Lennox was restored by act of parliament to his titles and estates.

A marriage between Mary and Darnley had been for some time in treaty between the former and Lennox ; rumours of it were instantly spread, and it may also be that the English ministers and possibly Elizabeth herself were not displeased at it. Mary was desirous of seeing Darnley, and Elizabeth when applied to made no difficulty of letting him go to Scotland. He reached Edinburgh on the 13th of February 1565, and on the 16th he waited on the queen at Wemys castle in Fife. "Her majesty," says Melvill, "took well with him, and said he was the lustiest [handsomest] and best-proportioned lang man that she had seen ; for he was of high stature, lang and small, even and brent up [straight] : well instructed from his youth in all honest and comely exercises." He was in effect a tall well-made youth of nineteen years, who danced, played the lute, and had the showy accomplishments of the age. He pleased the eye of Mary ; she took no time to ascertain the qualities of his mind, but fell violently in love at once. He offered her his hand and heart without delay ; she affected anger at his presumption, but secretly determined to espouse him.

There was a man named David Rizzio or Riccio, an Italian, who had come to Scotland in the suite of the ambassador of Savoy. He remained in the queen's service on account of his skill in music ; she raised him to the post of her French secretary, and made him her favourite. As the graces of the crown mostly passed through his hands, he was courted by the nobility ; wealth came to him from various sources, which he displayed with the usual vanity of an upstart, and his insolence augmented in proportion.

The nobility therefore hated and despised him at the same time ; a suspicion also prevailed that he was a secret agent of the pope.

With this man did Darnley condescend to ally himself in order that he might employ his influence over the queen's mind in his favour. This indisposed the protestant nobles to Darnley ; the open indifference which he manifested on the subject of religion alarmed them. Murray prognosticated that unkindness to England would be the result, and in sorrow withdrew from court. The queen however was resolved to persevere ; an agent was despatched to Rome for a dispensation, and Lethington was sent to inform Elizabeth, and ask her consent. But the knowledge which the council had now of the state of feeling in both kingdoms made them view the match as fraught with peril, and letters of recall were sent (Apr. 23rd) to Lennox and his son, which they treated with neglect, almost with contempt. On the 1st of May the council met and determined that this marriage would be dangerous to the protestant religion and to the queen's title, and that it was necessary to provide for war with Scotland if need should be. The able Throgmorton was sent to Edinburgh to make known these resolutions, and in case of failure he was to urge the protestants to oppose the marriage unless Darnley promised to adhere to the reformed religion.

Murray as we have seen had withdrawn from court in disgust ; but the queen, who knew of what importance it was to gain his approbation of her marriage, ordered him to repair to her at Stirling. She there employed all her arts and eloquence to induce him to sign a paper recommending the marriage. He hesitated to do so, alleging that he feared Darnley would be an enemy to Christianity. "She gave him," says Melvill, "many sore words ; he answered with humility, but nothing could be obtained from him." A convention of nobles met a few days after (May 14) ; the gifts and blandishments of Mary had more effect on them than on her brother, and many gave their assent to her

marriage. As however some hesitated, another convention was appointed to meet at Perth.

Darnley now mortally hated Murray as the chief obstacle to his ambition; and religious and political motives caused Murray to resolve to prevent the marriage if possible. The former is said to have formed a plan to assassinate the latter; Murray is charged with a design, in conjunction with Chatelherault, Argyle, and other nobles with whom he was associated, to seize Darnley and his father, and deliver them up to the warden of the English marches. Each party it is added received information of the designs of the other, and Mary taking advantage of the popularity which the good government of Murray had procured her, assembled a force, and advancing to Stirling, where the confederate lords were, obliged them to disperse and retire to their homes.

Mary had conferred on Darnley the titles of earl of Ross and duke of Albany, dignities appropriated to the royal family, and the dispensation being now arrived, and the banns duly published, she gave him her hand (July 29) in the chapel of Holyrood House. The ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Romish church; Darnley however withdrew during the performance of mass. She had agreed to give him the title of king, but wished to defer it till parliament should meet or till he should have attained his twenty-first year; but the vain headstrong youth would have it then or never, and she was obliged to consent to his being proclaimed the evening* before the marriage-day. On the day succeeding it he was again proclaimed, and though all the lords were present no one said Amen; his father alone cried "God save his queen!"

Immediately after her marriage Mary outlawed Murray; she set at liberty lord Gordon and made him earl of Huntley, and she recalled Sutherland and Bothwell, who were

* "She can as much prevail with him in anything that is against his will," writes Randolph to Leicester, "as your lordship may with me to persuade that I should hang myself."

in exile—all sworn foes to Murray. When Thomworth came, sent by Elizabeth, to insist that she should do nothing against the reformation in England, she gave an ambiguous reply; she did the same when warned not to make any change in Scotland; and when, as instructed, he urged her to drop her displeasure against Murray, she desired that there might be no meddling in the affairs of Scotland. She was in fact inveterate against her brother. She lost no time in collecting a force, with which she drove him and the other lords to seek refuge in Argyle. They soon after appeared in arms in the western counties; the queen in person led her forces against them, riding at the head of her troops with loaded pistols in her girdle. The lords made a rapid march to Edinburgh, but as the people there did not join them as they had expected, and the queen pursued them closely, they retired to Dumfries, still followed by their implacable sovereign, and finding resistance hopeless, they crossed the borders and sought refuge in England. Murray and Hamilton abbot of Kilwinning repaired to London. In the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, Elizabeth, it is said, made them declare that she had not excited them to take arms against their sovereign. When they had done so she called them traitors, and ordered them to quit her presence*. They retired to the northern marches, where Elizabeth secretly supplied them with money, and interceded for their pardon with their queen. Chatelherault was forgiven on condition of his retiring to France, but Mary declared to Randolph that she would rather lose half her kingdom than show mercy to Murray. The king and her chief counsellors,

* Such is the account given by Melvill and the other Scottish writers. Lord Burleigh (Raumer, Elizabeth and Mary, p. 70) says Elizabeth asked Murray "if he had ever undertaken anything against the person of his queen. This he most solemnly denied, and implored her to conserve the amity between her majesty and his sovereign." In conclusion "she spoke very roundly to him before the ambassadors, that whatsoever the world said or reported of her she would by her actions let it appear that she would not for the price of a world maintain any subject in any disobedience against a prince."

Huntley, Athol and Bothwell, were all hostile to him ; so also was Rizzio, though he had, says Melvill, “sued him earnestly and more humbly than could be believed, with the present of a fair diamond,” for his interest in his behalf. But what most weighed with the queen was a message from her uncles desiring her not to pardon the banished lords. This was brought by Clernau, the bearer of the treaty lately concluded at Bayonne for the extirpation of protestantism, to which she readily affixed her signature. A parliament was summoned for the 12th of March 1566, in order to attain the rebel lords, and to take steps toward the re-establishment of popery.

CHAPTER X.

ELIZABETH (CONTINUED).

1566—1571.

Murder of Rizzio.—Mary's affection for Bothwell.—Murder of the king.—Proceedings in consequence of it.—Mary marries Bothwell.—Association of the nobles.—Surrender of the queen ;—her imprisonment and abdication ;—her escape and flight into England.—Conference at York and Hampton Court.—Proposed marriage with the duke of Norfolk.—Rising in the North.—Death and character of the regent Murray.—State of politics.—Elizabeth excommunicated.

THE execution of those projects however was prevented by the perpetration of a deed which proved pregnant with calamity to the royal house of Scotland. Mary had now ceased to love her husband ; the first fervour of her affection being over, she saw that he was devoid of every estimable quality, brutal in temper, and addicted to the grossest intemperance. She therefore gave no heed to his urgent demand of the crown-matrimonial ; she treated him with neglect and even aversion ; all her favour was monopolized by Rizzio, with whom the jealous Darnley now suspected her of improper familiarity. “ It is a sore case,” said he one day (Feb. 10) to his uncle Douglas, “ that I can get no help against that villain David.” “ It is your own fault,” was the reply, “ you cannot keep a secret.” Soon after, a league, confirmed by the king's oath and signature, was formed between him and the lords Ruthven, Morton, Lindsay, and Maitland of Lethington : *they* were to put Rizzio to death ; and procure him the crown-matrimonial ; *he* was to bear them ‘ scathless,’ to obtain an amnesty for the banished lords, and to secure the protestant religion.

This compact was made on the 1st of March, and on the night of the 9th (Saturday) Ruthven, having risen from his bed of sickness for the purpose, and cased himself in his

armour, the associates were brought by Darnley up a private staircase which led to the apartment where Mary, now six months gone with child, was sitting at supper with Rizzio and lady Argyle. The king went in and stood by her chair with his arm round her waist. Ruthven entered pale and haggard, supported by two men. He desired that Rizzio should quit the room; the queen said it was her will he should be there. Rizzio ran behind her for safety; a tumult ensued; the table was overturned; Rizzio was dragged out and despatched in the antechamber with fifty-six wounds. The queen meantime was interceding for him, and a very indelicate conversation took place between her and her husband in the presence of Ruthven respecting his resumption of his conjugal rights. She then sent to learn the fate of Rizzio, and when she found that he was dead, she said, "No more tears; I must think of revenge;" and she never was heard to lament him more. Bothwell and Huntley, when they learned what had occurred, made their escape from the palace by a window.

On Monday (the 11th) Murray and his friends came to Edinburgh. Mary embraced and kissed her brother when she saw him, saying that "if he had been at home he would not have allowed her to be so discourteously handled." He was affected even to tears. Mary now tried her arts on her weak, unstable husband, and she actually succeeded in prevailing on him to abandon his confederates and make his escape with her the following night out of the palace. They fled to Dunbar. The king issued a proclamation denying all knowledge of the conspiracy. Bothwell, Huntley and other nobles repaired with their followers to Dunbar, and on the 19th the queen re-entered Edinburgh at the head of eight thousand men. The murderers of Rizzio were obliged to fly into England. The contempt and hatred which Mary felt for her worthless husband she could not conceal; her whole confidence was now given to Bothwell, between whom and Murray she effected a reconciliation.

On the 19th of June the queen was delivered of a son. Sir James Melvill was immediately despatched with the tidings to Elizabeth. When he arrived, the queen, who had just recovered from a severe illness, was at her favourite palace of Greenwich. She was dancing after supper: Cecil whispered the news to her; she instantly stopped and sat down, resting her cheek on her hand. At length she gave vent to her feelings in these words: "The queen of Scots is mother of a fair son, while I am but a barren stock." What could be more natural, what more blameless than such language? Yet those who will see nothing but duplicity in her conduct, ascribe to dissimulation the cheerful countenance with which she received Melvill next morning, and the readiness with which she assented to his request that she would be godmother to the infant prince.

The alienation between Mary and her husband increased from day to day. He found himself generally shunned; for to show him any attention was a sure mode of losing the queen's favour. In his vexation he formed the absurd project of quitting the kingdom and going to the continent; but the silly plan came to no effect. Meantime the queen's visible partiality for Bothwell gave occasion to rumours injurious to her character, and an incident which occurred in the following October added strength to suspicion. She went to Jedburgh to hold a justiciary court for suppressing the disorders of the borders. Bothwell, whom she had made warden of the marches, preceded her by some days, and being wounded in the hand in a scuffle with one of the borderers named Elliott, was conveyed to his castle of Hermitage. The queen having passed some days in great anxiety on his account took the sudden resolution of going herself to see him. Though the weather was bad and the roads in a wretched state, she rode with a few attendants to Hermitage, a distance of twenty miles, and having assured herself that his life was in no danger, returned the same day to Jedburgh. Her bodily exertion, combined with mental uneasiness, threw her the next day

into a fever, and for some days her life was despaired of; the vigour of her constitution however triumphed over the disorder.

After her recovery the queen took up her abode at the castle of Craigmillar near Edinburgh, and here the measure of a divorce was discussed by Maitland and others; she made no objection but her unwillingness to prejudice her son. On the 17th of December the ceremony of the young prince's baptism was performed at Stirling; and though the king was in the castle, owing to his own caprice or to the coldness of the queen, he was not present at it. On the other hand, Bothwell was appointed to receive the French and English ambassadors, and to regulate the ceremonial of the christening. Through his influence Morton and the other murderers of Rizzio were pardoned on the 24th, on which day the king left the court and retired to his father's house at Glasgow, where in a few days he was attacked by the small-pox. The queen when she heard of his illness sent her own physician to attend him.

On the 20th of January (1567) Bothwell and Lethington went to Morton's residence at Whittingham, and Bothwell proposed the murder of the king to him, saying "it was the queen's mind that he should be taken away." Morton objected, being, as he said, but just come out of trouble on a similar account; but finally agreed provided he had the queen's hand-writing for his warrant. This however they were unable to procure; either they did not venture to propose such a thing to Mary, or she was too prudent to commit herself.

From the time of Rizzio's murder up to the present date the queen had shown no affection to her husband, and on the 20th she wrote to her ambassador at Paris complaining of him and his father. The next day she set out for Glasgow. While there she feigned the utmost fondness for the king, yet her letters at the same time to Bothwell display the most ardent love for that nobleman. Her object was to get her husband into her power; in this she succeeded,

and she brought him back with her to Edinburgh (Jan. 31). Pretending that the situation and noise of Holyrood House would be injurious to him in his delicate state, she placed him in a lone house without the city named the Kirk of Field, and she had a chamber fitted up for herself under his, in which she sometimes slept. On Sunday night (Feb. 9) she stayed with him till ten o'clock, and then recollecting that she had promised to give a mask at the palace on the occasion of the marriage of one of her servants, she took leave of him. At two in the morning a loud explosion was heard, and daylight revealed the Kirk of Field in ruins. The dead body of the king was found at a little distance in the fields without any marks of violence; the house it appeared had been blown up with gunpowder.

On the 12th a proclamation was issued offering a reward of 1000*l.* for the discovery of the murderers. A paper was found fixed on the gates of the Tolbooth (Feb. 16) naming Bothwell and his accomplices, and accusing the queen of being privy to it; voices to the same effect were heard in the silence of the night. The council called on the accuser to appear; a second placard announced that he would, and that with four witnesses, if Bothwell and two of the queen's servants, who were named, were taken into custody. The council made no reply. Lennox wrote to Mary urging that the persons accused should be brought to trial. She evaded compliance; and though every tongue named Bothwell as the murderer, she continued to give him daily proofs of her favour. She bestowed on him (Feb. 15) the superiority of the port of Leith, and (Mar. 19) made him governor of the Castle of Edinburgh. Still the popular voice was so strong, and a letter from archbishop Beaton her envoy at Paris showed her so plainly the ill report there was of her on the continent, that she saw no way of eluding the demand for a trial. It was therefore fixed for the 12th of April, thus giving Lennox but fourteen instead of forty days, the usual time, to prepare for the prosecution.

The accused meantime were at liberty, and Bothwell himself actually sat as a member of the privy council which arranged the manner of the trial !

It was evident that anything but impartial justice was intended. Lennox, feeling his weakness, had applied to Elizabeth for aid, and that princess, in a letter which does her honour, entreated of Mary not to precipitate the proceedings in this manner : “ For the love of God, madam,” says she, “ use such sincerity and prudence in this matter, which concerns you so nearly, that the whole world may have reason to declare you innocent of so enormous a crime ; which if you committed it you would be justly cast out of the ranks of princesses, and not without reason made the reproach of the vulgar, and sooner than that should befall you I would wish you an honourable grave than a spotted life. You see, madam, that I treat you as my daughter, etc.” All was in vain, Lennox did not venture to appear ; no witness or evidence was produced, for Bothwell came to his trial so well attended by armed men that it had been dangerous to do so ; he was of course acquitted. Mary then affected to regard him as fully cleared, and when she went to open the parliament he bore the sword of state before her. Lennox fled into England. Still numerous placards showed that the public were by no means satisfied of Bothwell’s innocence.

The strongest possible proof of Bothwell’s influence over the queen’s mind was given at this time. Mary, a most bigoted papist, who never for a moment had swerved from her purpose of destroying the protestant religion, who had lately subscribed the treaty of Bayonne, assented to an act of parliament repealing all laws adverse to the reformers, and giving their religion the safeguard of law. Bothwell’s object evidently was to gain the support of the protestants, whose creed he had always professed. He now went a step further : on the day of the dissolution of parliament he invited all the nobles to sup at a tavern. He had the house filled and surrounded with his armed dependents ;

after supper he opened to them his design of marrying the queen; he said he had her own consent, and he wished them to subscribe a bond recommending the marriage and pledging themselves to maintain it. Some were already in the secret, some were gained by promises, others yielded to fear; all subscribed the bond.

Three days after (Apr. 22) Mary went to Stirling to visit her son; as she was on her return she was met near Linlithgow by Bothwell at the head of a large body of armed men: he dispersed her train, took the bridle of her horse, and led her and some of her attendants, among whom were Huntley, Lethington and Melvill, to Dunbar: the person who conducted Melvill told him it was done with the queen's consent, and her own letters prove that it had been all arranged between her and Bothwell. It may increase our disgust at this proceeding to know that Bothwell was at this time the husband of Huntley's sister; but means had been devised to dissolve the union. The queen had restored the archbishop of St. Andrew's to his jurisdiction, and to quiet her catholic scruples Bothwell had commenced a suit for a divorce on the ground of consanguinity in his court, while lady Jane Gordon was prosecuting a collusive one against him for adultery in the protestant court; sentence was easily procured in both courts. A report was also put forth that Bothwell had offered personal violence to the queen at Dunbar; and when Craig, a minister at Edinburgh, was commanded to publish the banns (for she now was going to marry Bothwell) he refused on that ground; and when obliged to do so, he declared from the pulpit that "he abhorred and detested the marriage as hateful in the sight of the world."

Mary was conducted by Bothwell to Edinburgh (May 3); she appeared before the court of session, and declared that though Bothwell's insolence in seizing her had at first excited her indignation, his subsequent conduct had been so respectful that she forgave him and was resolved to raise him to the highest honours. She then created him earl of

Orkney, and on the 15th she was married to him publicly according to the rites of the protestant church by the bishop of Orkney and then in private according to those of that of Rome.

We need not inform our readers that the question of Mary's participation in Bothwell's crime (for of *his* guilt no one has ever doubted) is one which has been disputed from her own time down to the present. After duly weighing the evidence, our own most decided conviction is that she was guilty of the murder of her husband, and went to Glasgow for the sole purpose of luring him to his destruction, and that her whole conduct in the transaction proves her to have been capable of the commission of the blackest crimes without feeling a pang of remorse*.

But her guilt was not to go unpunished ; the Reformation had exalted the moral sense of the people, and the dead silence which prevailed when she appeared in public showed what were their thoughts. Bothwell too was not kind, he surrounded her with his creatures and exercised the whole royal authority. His great object was to get the young prince into his power (doubtless for the worst of purposes), but the firmness of the earl of Mar, who had charge of the royal infant, and whom Melvill conjured to save him "from the hands of those who had slain his father," prevented him from accomplishing his boast "that he would warrant him from avenging the death of his father."

The insolence of Bothwell, the danger of the prince, the reproaches of foreign nations at length roused the Scottish nobles. Argyle, Athol, Morton, Lindsay, Glencairn, Mar,

* "The suffering innocence of Mary," says Laing, "is a theme appropriated to tragedy and romance, and her vindication consists entirely of popular arguments and the misrepresentation of facts ; of declamation, fiction, invective, ribaldry, and the grossest abuse. But the sober voice of impartial history from Thuanus to Hume and Robertson, has deduced her guilt from the moral evidence which her conduct affords, and from a calm and accurate investigation of facts." Any one who reads this writer's dissertation on the murder of Darnley and rises with a doubt on his mind of Mary's guilt, may rest assured, that whatever may be his talents, history is not his vocation.

Lethington and others met at Stirling and entered into an association for the defence of the prince. The queen on her side put forth a proclamation (May 28) calling on her subjects to arm and meet her husband on an appointed day; they came but slowly and ill-affected; the queen fearing for her safety was conducted by Bothwell to Borthwick Castle, from which however he was soon forced to fly to Dunbar on the appearance of lord Home with a body of troops. Mary accompanied his flight in male attire. Having collected what troops she could, she advanced to Carberry Hill near Edinburgh (June 15); the lords led their forces out against her. Le Croc, the French ambassador, vainly sought to mediate. She offered pardon. "We will be satisfied," said Morton, "with the punishment of the murderer of the late king." "As to pardon," said Glencairn, "we have not come here to ask pardon for any offence we have done, but rather to grant pardon to those who have offended." Finding such to be their temper and failing in her efforts to rouse her own troops to action, Mary took a farewell (a final one*) of Bothwell and surrendered to a chief named Kirkcaldy of Grange, who had assured her of the obedience of the lords provided she dismissed Bothwell and would engage to govern by their advice. The lords received her with great respect, and conducted her to Edinburgh. The unhappy woman was assailed as she went along with maledictions and the foulest epithets; for the Scots are a stern unrelenting people, and the populace had not a doubt of her guilt. When she rose in the morning the first object that met her view was the white flag which had waved the day before at Carberry-hill displayed before her window, and on which was portrayed the body of her husband beneath a tree, as it had been found, and her infant son on his knees saying, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord†!"

* They had been exactly a month married. So little did they gain by their crime!

† "The women be most furious and impudent against the queen, and yet the men be mad enough," writes Throgmorton to Elizabeth, July 14.

Mary had pledged herself to give up Bothwell, yet that very night a letter from her to him was brought by the bearer to the lords, in which she called him her "dear heart whom she would never forget nor abandon for absence." They saw she was not to be trusted, and next day (June 16) they sent her a prisoner to the castle of Lochlevin*, situated on a small island in a lake: its owner, William Douglas, was related to Morton and married to Murray's mother. The lords soon had convincing proof of the queen's guilt. Bothwell sent one of his servants to fetch him a casket which he had left in the castle of Edinburgh; the messenger was seized, and the casket was found to contain letters and sonnets in the queen's hand-writing which proved her guilt beyond contradiction. Nothing could prevail on the infatuated woman to give up the partner of her crime. "She avoweth constantly," writes Throgmorton, "that she will live and die with him, and saith that if it were put to her choice to relinquish her crown and kingdom or the lord Bothwell, she would leave her kingdom and dignity to go as a simple damsel with him, and that she will never consent that he shall fare worse or have more harm than herself."

To restore Mary to power was therefore out of the question. Some would have been content if she resigned her crown to her son and retired to France or England; others required her trial and condemnation, but would have been satisfied with her perpetual imprisonment; a third party, more stern, demanded her capital punishment as the penalty due to her crimes, and as the only mode of assuring the safety of the realm. It was finally concluded to be content for the present with her resignation. Lord Lind-

* "She spoke," says Le Croc, (Raum. ii. 103.) "on her arrival at Edinburgh of nothing but hanging and crucifying them all, and proceeds constantly in the same fashion which drives every one to extremity. For they feared lest in the moment of her liberation she would hasten to Bothwell and begin every thing anew; for this reason she was brought in the night to Lochlevin." At this time, he adds, Lethington swore to him "by his God that they as yet were in alliance neither with Elizabeth, nor any foreign power."

say, a man of rough brutal manners, was sent to her (July 25), and under the threat of instant death if she refused, he made her sign her own abdication and consent to the coronation of her son; an appointment of Murray to the regency; and that of certain others if he should refuse. She subscribed with tears, but Lethington and some of her other friends had secretly directed sir Robert Melvill to assure her that her resignation was void and might be revoked when she was at liberty.

Four days after (July 29) the prince was crowned at Stirling by the title of James VI. On the 11th of August Murray returned from France, whither he had retired some months before; he visited his unhappy sister; she burst into tears at the sight of him. He spoke the truth freely and plainly. "Sometimes," says Melvill, "she wept bitterly, sometimes she acknowledged her misgovernment; some things she did confess plainly, some things she did excuse, some things she did extenuate." He could only then leave her to God's mercy, but next morning he assured her of life and of the preservation of her honour as far as in him lay; liberty he said it was not in his power to give her, nor would it be good for her to have it at present. She then took him in her arms and kissed him. On the 22nd he was proclaimed regent.

It may be asked, how did the queen of England act all this time? The reply is highly to her honour. Elizabeth's notions of the majesty of kings were high, and she was little pleased with the example of subjects rising up against their sovereigns. She moreover regarded Mary as a kinswoman and as the presumptive heiress of her crown. On the intelligence therefore of her captivity she despatched Throgmorton to Scotland to exert himself in her behalf; she menaced; she even proposed to the French government to put a stop to all traffic with the rebels, as she styled them, and their abettors. "No counsel," writes Cecil, "can stop her majesty from manifesting her misliking of the proceedings against the queen of Scots." One ran the

risk of seeing the lords throw themselves into the arms of France ; and when the Hamiltons, Huntley, and others confederated against the regent and in favour of the queen, she gave them encouragement through Throgmorton.

We must now relate the fate of Bothwell. He fled to his dukedom of Orkney, where he hired some ships with the intention of passing over to Denmark ; but Kirkcaldy of Grange and Murray of Tullibardine, who were sent in pursuit of him, captured all his vessels but one in which he escaped to Norway ; where (as he had no papers to produce, and his ship had once been commanded by a noted pirate,) he was detained a prisoner, and when his portfolio, containing the proclamations of the council for his apprehension, etc. was found, he was sent to Copenhagen. He was imprisoned in the castle of Malmö in Scania, where he died bereft of reason in 1576.

On the 15th of December, the Scottish parliament met ; all the late proceedings were pronounced lawful and were confirmed. The contents of the casket were produced and read, and Mary was declared to have been accessory to the murder of her husband. The acts of 1560 in favour of the protestant religion were ratified, and it was now finally established.

But though Huntley and several of Mary's partisans attended this parliament and supported the measures introduced, their jealousy of the regent soon arrayed them again in arms. They opened a communication with Mary, who appointed the duke of Chatelherault to be her lieutenant. Murray meantime visited her again, and she proposed, in order to quiet all fears respecting Bothwell, to marry his half-brother George Douglas, son to the lady of Lochlevin, a youth of eighteen years of age, for whom she had begun to spread her snares. Murray objected to his humble birth, so far beneath her rank. It was all however but a scheme of Mary's to conceal her real design. She had given amorous encouragement to Douglas to induce him to aid her to escape. On the 25th of March, 1568,

having changed clothes with the laundress who used to come from a village near the lake, she got into the boat; she had nearly reached the shore when one of the boatmen went to raise her 'muffler,' saying "let us see what sort of a dame this is!" She put up her hand to prevent him; its whiteness raised their suspicions; they refused to land her, and carried her back to the island, but did not betray her. On the 2nd of May she was more fortunate; while lady Douglas and her eldest son were at supper, a youth called the little Douglas stole the keys of the castle. Mary hastened to a boat that lay ready; Douglas locked the castle gate on the outside and flung the keys into the lake as they rowed across it. On the shore Mary was met by George Douglas, lord Seaton, and others. She mounted a horse and rode to lord Seaton's house of Niddry, and having rested there for three hours, she mounted again and rode to Hamilton, where she was received by the nobles of her party at the head of three thousand of their followers. Her first act was to protest against the instruments she had been compelled to sign when in prison, which were pronounced illegal by the nobles present, many of whom had declared the direct contrary in the late parliament.

Murray was meantime at Glasgow with only his ordinary train; some of his friends advised him to fly to Stirling, but he was too prudent to take such a course. He amused the queen for a few days by negotiation, during which time he assembled a force of about four thousand men, with which he resolved to give her battle. Though the royal troops were double the number, their leaders wished to wait the return of Huntley and Ogilvie, who were gone to the north to assemble their vassals. Meantime they proposed to place the queen for security in the castle of Dumbarton; but on their way thither (May 13) the regent brought them to action at a place named Langside Hill, and routed them in the space of a quarter of an hour. Mary, who from an adjacent eminence viewed the fight, saw at once that all was lost; she turned, urged her horse to speed,

and having failed in an attempt to reach Dumbarton, rode without halting to Dundrennan Abbey near Kirkcudbright on the Solway Firth, a distance of sixty Scottish miles. Lord Herries and a few others, among whom was the French ambassador, accompanied her flight.

What was this wretched princess now to do? To make her escape to the Highlands was difficult if not impossible, and the toils and privations she might have to undergo when she reached them were not easy to appreciate; to escape to France was equally difficult, and pride forbade to appear as a fugitive where she had reigned a queen, and the prospect of being shut up in a nunnery (the course which the French government had proposed for her) was probably not an agreeable one; an ignominious death in all probability awaited her if she fell into the hands of her enraged subjects. There remained but one course, a flight into England. Elizabeth had of late exerted herself warmly in her favour and might be disposed to assert her cause; she therefore directed Herries to write (May 15) to Mr. Lowther, the governor of Carlisle, to know if she might come thither in safety. She did not however venture to wait for a reply; fearing to fall into the power of her enemies, she embarked next day with lord Herries and about twenty attendants in a fishing boat and landed at Worthington. The gentry of the vicinity conducted her with all due respect to Cockermouth, whence Lowther brought her to Carlisle. She had little or no money, and not even a change of clothes when she landed in England.

Mary lost no time in writing to Elizabeth; assuming, as she did on all occasions, herself to be an innocent and injured person, she required to be admitted to the queen's presence and to be restored to her authority by force. The English council took the case into most grave and solemn consideration; they weighed the arguments on all sides; they viewed the dangers likely to arise to England and to protestantism in general; they saw equal peril in suffering Mary to go to France or Spain or return to

Scotland ; they decided that she should be detained *for the present* in England. They may certainly have been swayed by secret prejudice, or they may have fancied danger that was but imaginary ; but beyond question they did what they believed to be right, and they must have known what the dangers to be apprehended really were far better than *we* can do. Leaving then declamation to the advocates of Mary, we hesitate not to say that under the circumstances the council acted wisely and well in our opinion.

To Mary's request of a personal interview it was replied, that till the murder of Darnley and the subsequent events were explained, Elizabeth could not with honour admit her into her presence ; but that if Mary cleared herself on a judicial inquiry, the queen would chastise her rebellious subjects and restore her by force of arms. Mary and her fast friend lord Herries long struggled against the proposed inquiry ; at length she consented that Elizabeth " should send for the noblemen of Scotland, that they might answer before such noblemen of England as should be chosen by her why they had deposed their queen." Mary was now (July 28) at lord Scroop's castle of Bolton in Yorkshire, whither she had been removed from Carlisle.

It may be here noticed as an instance of the duplicity of which Mary was capable, that she, the most bigoted of catholics, who when in power would not even listen to the Scottish reformed clergy, now affected great veneration for the English liturgy, was often present at the protestant worship, chose a protestant clergyman for her chaplain, listened with attention and apparent pleasure while he exposed the errors of popery, and seemed on the point of becoming a convert*.

* Robertson says it is impossible to believe she was sincere, but he adds, " nor can any thing mark more strongly the wretchedness of her condition and the excess of her *fears*, than that they betrayed her into dissimulation, in a matter concerning which her sentiments were at all other times scrupulously delicate." What *fears* could those have been but the dread of the proofs which she knew could be given of her share in the murder of her husband? Robertson would seem to hint, that, like Elizabeth in her sister's reign, she feared death

On the 4th of October the conference, as it was termed, was opened at York. The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler were the English commissioners; Mary was represented by Lesly, bishop of Ross, lord Herries, and five other persons; on the part of the king and parliament of Scotland appeared the regent, the lords Morton and Lindsay, and others; among their assistants were Lethington and the illustrious George Buchanan. Mary's agents commenced by demanding justice for the various indignities and injuries offered to her, from the first revolt to her flight into England. Murray was now in a difficult situation; if he produced the proofs which he had of the queen's guilt, he cut off all hope of reconciliation; if he did not, he in effect allowed that he was a rebel. He took refuge in forms and verbal distinctions; his defence therefore was feeble, and Mary's advocate had plainly the advantage. Finding that he must advance, he was anxious to ascertain if Elizabeth would secure him against the consequences, in case of his making the accusation and proving its truth. With this view he privately laid before the commissioners the letters, sonnets, and marriage contracts of Mary to Bothwell. Of the genuineness of these documents they declared themselves convinced, and they wrote to that effect to the queen*. Elizabeth now deemed it advisable to have the conference more at hand; it was removed to Hampton Court with Mary's full approbation, who still reckoned that Murray would not venture to produce his strong evidence. Cecil and Bacon, with lord Clinton and the earls of Leicester and Arundel, were added

on account of her religion. This is quite idle, and is an instance of the desire of even this writer to make a suffering saint of the guilty queen.

* "They showed us," said they, "one long and horrible letter of her own hand, as they say, containing foul matter, abominable to be thought of. The letters discourse of some things which were unknown to any other than herself and Bothwell; and as it is hard to counterfeit so many, so the matter of them, and the manner in which these men came by them, are such, that as it seemeth, that God, in whose sight murder is so abominable, would not permit the same to be hid or concealed."

to the commission. Lennox now came forward and openly charged the queen with the murder of his son. Murray was obliged to proceed in his charge and produce his proofs. When Herries and Lesly saw the blow which they had long warded at length struck, they refused to answer unless their mistress "were allowed to justify herself in the presence of the queen of England, the whole nobility of the kingdom, and the ambassadors of foreign states." But it was now too late to object to the present mode of proceeding. They in effect confessed that the evidence now produced could not be refuted. "The objections," says Hume, "made to the authenticity of these papers are, in general, of small force; but were they ever so specious they cannot now be hearkened to, since Mary, at the time when the truth could have been fully cleared, did, in effect, ratify the evidence against her, by recoiling from the inquiry at the very critical moment, and refusing to give an answer to the accusation of her enemies."

We may now assume that Elizabeth and her ministers had not the slightest doubt of Mary's guilt. Still, though the queen dismissed Murray with kindness, and gave him a loan of 5000*l.* for the expenses of his journey, she would not sanction the principle of the right of the people to depose their sovereigns, by treating with him as regent, or acknowledging the young king of Scotland. As Bolton was in a part abounding with catholics, Mary was now removed to Tutbury, in Staffordshire, a seat of the earl of Shrewsbury's; but liberty was offered to her if she would resign her crown, or associate her son with her in the government, Murray to have the regency during the prince's minority. She refused, justly alleging that such an act would be a confession of her guilt. She demanded to be allowed to go to France; but Elizabeth was too apprehensive of the danger of that course; and though she knew that Mary's presence in England might cause much mischief, she chose it as the lesser evil, in reliance on her own fortitude and address.

Yet at this very time some of the leading English nobility were engaged on the side of Mary. During the conference at York the subtle Lethington hinted to the duke of Norfolk a match between him, now a widower, and the queen of Scots. Norfolk listened to the offer, but he stated that the letters which he had seen with Murray made him hesitate. A communication seems to have been opened with Mary, who showed no disinclination to the proposed alliance. At Hampton Court Murray himself made the same proposal to Norfolk. Those who will allow the regent no virtue say that he was insincere, and that his only motive was to secure his life, as Norton, one of Norfolk's partisans, intended to waylay and murder him on his return home through the north. But we may surely as well suppose that he was also actuated by an honest desire to see his sister married to an English nobleman of the highest rank and a protestant, and the peace and happiness of the two kingdoms thus permanently secured.

After Murray's departure Norfolk associated himself with the earls of Leicester, Arundel, Pembroke, and others, both catholic and protestant; sir Nicholas Throgmorton also engaged warmly in the project. A letter was written by Leicester to the queen of Scots, and signed by the rest, recommending Norfolk to her for a husband, but stipulating for a renunciation of all claims to the throne of England during the lives of Elizabeth and her heirs, for a perpetual league between the two kingdoms, and for the establishment of the protestant religion in Scotland. Mary returned a favourable reply, and the confederates went on strengthening themselves. It is said too that the kings of France and Spain were secretly consulted and gave their approbation. The previous consent of Elizabeth however was all along supposed; but they seem to have reckoned on making their party so strong that she would not venture to refuse it.

It seems strange to see so many of her principal nobles (even Leicester included) thus as it were in a conspiracy

against Elizabeth : but jealousy of Cecil and Bacon, who were known to favour the claims of the house of Suffolk, was at the bottom of it with some ; others, and even Norfolk himself, may have thought the measure really good for the country ; the catholics looked to the re-establishment of their religion by means of it.

The affair however could not be expected to remain long a secret from the queen and Cecil. Elizabeth took the duke one day (Aug. 13, 1569) to dinner at Farnham ; "Be careful," said she to him, "of the pillow on which you are about to lay your head." He understood the allusion, and replied, "I will never marry a person with whom I could not be sure of my pillow." Soon after, Leicester (whom Norfolk is said to have urged in vain to reveal the whole to the queen) fell sick, or feigned sickness, at Titchfield, and when Elizabeth came to visit him he told her all he knew. The queen then taxed Norfolk with his designs, and charged him to abandon them. He readily promised, spoke disparagingly of the Scottish match, affirming that his English estates were nearly as valuable as the kingdom of Scotland, and that when he was in his own tennis-court at Norwich he thought himself a petty prince. Finding himself looked coolly on he soon after left the court without permission and retired to Norfolk. He soon however repented of this step and was returning, but he was arrested and sent to the Tower (Oct. 9.). Pembroke, Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton were also put in custody.

Meantime rumours of a meditated rising in the north prevailed. Sussex, the lord president, summoned the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland before him ; their excuses however satisfied him and he dismissed them. The reports growing stronger, the queen wrote (Nov. 10.) summoning the two earls to court ; but they had gone too far in treason to venture on that course. In conjunction with Radcliffe, Sussex's own brother, with Leonard, uncle of

lord Dacres, and the families of the Nortons, Markenfields, Tempests, and others, they had been in constant communication with Mary and with her friends in Scotland; they had also arranged with the duke of Alva, Philip's viceroy in the Netherlands, for the landing of a body of Spanish auxiliaries; and one of his ablest captains, Ciappino Vitelli, had been sent over to London on some trifling embassy, to be on the spot to take the command of them when they should land.

Northumberland being a timid irresolute man, his more energetic followers employed the following expedient to rouse him. At midnight one of his servants rushed into his chamber, crying out that his enemies Oswald, Ulstrop, and Vaughan were surrounding the place with armed men. He rose in a hurry and fled to a lodge in his park; next night he went to Brancespeath, a seat of the earl of Westmoreland's, where a large number of those who were in the secret were assembled. A manifesto was immediately put forth in the usual style, expressive of the utmost loyalty to the queen, but declaring their intentions to rescue her out of the hands of evil counsellors, to obtain the release of the duke and other peers, and to re-establish the religion of their fathers. They marched to Durham (Nov. 16), where they purified the churches by burning the heretical bibles and prayer-books. At Ripon they restored the mass; on Clifford-moor they mustered seven thousand men. Richard Norton, a venerable old gentleman, who had joined them with his five sons, raised in their front a banner displaying the Saviour with the blood streaming from his five wounds*. Finding that the catholics in general were loyal to the queen, and that Sussex was collecting an efficient force at York, they fell back to Hexham (Dec. 16). Here the footmen dispersed; the earls, with the horse, about five

* The fate of the Nortons is commemorated (though not with strict historic accuracy,) in Wordsworth's most beautiful poem of "The White Doe of Rylstone."

hundred in number, fled to Naworth and thence into Scotland.

Northumberland was taken and delivered to the regent, who confined him in Lochleven Castle, and some years after he was given up to the English government, and was executed at York. Westmoreland made his escape to Flanders, and he died in 1584, commandant of a Spanish regiment. Many executions, as was to be expected, took place. The queen of Scots had been, for greater security, removed from Tutbury to Coventry.

Soon after Leonard Dacres collected about three thousand men at his castle of Naworth; the queen's cousin Careylord Huntsdon* advanced from Durham with an equal number against him. They engaged on the banks of a stream named the Chelt (Feb. 22, 1570), and about three hundred fell on each side. The rebels were defeated; Dacres escaped to Scotland and thence to Flanders, where he died in poverty.

Elizabeth and Cecil were now fully conscious of the danger of having Mary in England, for, as that wise minister plainly saw, the horror inspired by her guilt would gradually soften down and give place to pity. Negotiations were therefore set on foot with her and with the regent for her return to Scotland: indeed it is said there was a private treaty with Murray for giving her up to him. But the regent's sudden death put an end to all these projects. He was assassinated (Jan. 23, 1570), as he was riding through Linlithgow, by one Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, from motives of private revenge.

Like all other personages at this time, Murray appears in two opposite lights in the narratives of the opposite religious parties. His great abilities are however acknowledged by all; by the people he was long remembered as "the good regent," and his moral virtues were extolled by his catholic countrymen who were abroad. His zeal for the protestant religion seems to have been sincere, and he was altogether as free from defect as it was possible for a

* He was the son of Mary, the elder sister of Anne Boleyn.

public man to be in those times and in such a country as Scotland. But the advocates of his sister have, from his own time down to the présent day, sought to make him the scapegoat for her sins, assuming, as Mackintosh says, "that she did nothing which she appears to have done, and that he did all that he appears to have cautiously abstained from doing."

The Scots and Kers border chiefs and partisans of Mary having made an inroad into England, Sussex invaded Scotland. The regency was soon after committed to the earl of Lennox, the young king's grandfather.

We can hardly conceive it possible for any one who reads with attention the various collections of state papers relating to this period of our history, to escape the conviction, that there was an extensive conspiracy of the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva, his vicegerent in the Netherlands, and in which the court of France also partly shared, of which the object was the dethronement, and probably the death, of Elizabeth, the elevation of Mary in her place, and the overthrow of the protestant religion. It is also certain that Mary knew and fully approved of this conspiracy and secretly corresponded with the heads of it; that her catholic partisans in both England and Scotland were ready to take arms in support of it; that Norfolk was aware and approved of the measure, at least as far as related to the liberation of the queen of Scots and his own marriage with her; and it is probable, that Arundel, Pembroke, and other nobles also knew of and favoured it. It is very remarkable, that not two months after Mary's flight into England the English ministry got secret information to that effect; for sir Henry Norris* wrote to Cecil from Paris (July 7, 1568), that the night before he had had a private meeting with the French provost-marshal (at the desire of the latter), who said "he wished I should advertise that the queen's majesty *did hold the wolf that would devour her*; and that it is conspired betwixt the

* He was son to Norris who suffered death on account of Anne Boleyn. One of Elizabeth's first cares had been to promote this family.

king of Spain, the pope, and the French king, that the queen should be destroyed, whereby the queen of Scots might succeed her majesty ;” with more to the same effect, mentioning particularly the name of Arundel. There is every reason to suppose that it was Catherine de’ Medici herself who caused the information to be thus conveyed to Elizabeth, out of jealousy to Mary, or through fear of seeing Britain under one head and perhaps closely united with Spain*.

We have noticed these particulars (and we could increase them to a great extent,) to show that Mary was not the meek suffering saint that her admirers make her†. They will also serve to prove that Elizabeth was not actuated by pure malignity and female petty revenge in her treatment of her ; she only *did hold the wolf that would devour her*, and acted from the great principle of self-preservation. The zealous and intolerant Pius V., just at this very time, as if to prove to the world that Elizabeth was justified in acting as she did, published (Feb. 25) his celebrated bull, *Regnans in excelsis*, in which, in the tone of a Gregory or an Innocent, he pronounced “the *pretended* queen of England” excommunicate and deprived of all title to her pretended kingdom, absolved all her subjects from their allegiance, and forbade them, under pain of excommunication, to obey her. Copies of this bull were forwarded to the duke of Alva, for distribution in the sea-ports

* “The cardinal (of Lorraine) showed the queen-mother how hurtful to the crown of France would the union of the isle of Britain be ; and thought meet that she should advertise the queen of England to take order thereto, *which the queen-mother failed not to do*. This the queen (Mary) *told me herself*, complaining of the cardinal’s unkindly dealing.”—Melvill, p. 239.

† The love of power and the passion for revenge were leading traits in Mary’s character. “She told me,” writes Knolles in 1568, “she would rather that all her party were hanged than submit to Murray, and if she were not retained she would go into Turkey rather than not be revenged on him.” Her dissimulation too was extreme ; while she was writing to Elizabeth in this strain, “I wish you knew what sincerity of love and affection are in my heart for you,” she prays the pope “to forgive her for writing loving and soothing letters to Elizabeth ; she desires nothing more than the re-establishment of the catholic religion in England.”

of the Netherlands, and by him some were transmitted to the Spanish ambassador at London. On the morning of the 15th of May one of them was found affixed to the bishop of London's gate. Strict search was made; a copy of the bull was discovered in the chambers of a student of Lincoln's Inn, who confessed that he had gotten it from a gentleman of good property named John Felton, who lived in Southwark. Felton when arrested owned that he had posted it on the bishop's gate and gloried in the deed; he was tried, found guilty, and executed as a traitor; by himself and the more zealous Romanists he was viewed as a martyr. The bull however produced no immediate effect. "The time," says Lingard, "was gone by when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes;" a change for which, he might have added, the world is indebted to the reformers. Elizabeth is said to have applied to the emperor to use his influence to have it revoked, as she knew not what its effects might be on enthusiasts and bigots*.

The very day that Felton was arraigned the duke of Norfolk was released from the Tower, and was suffered to reside in his own house, under the mild custody of sir Henry Neville. He expressed his sorrow for what he had done, and bound himself not to proceed in the affair of his marriage without the queen's knowledge. Yet even while in the Tower he had carried on a correspondence with Mary, and now that he was at large he still kept it up.

Elizabeth, urged by the foreign ambassadors, and anxious herself to get rid of her dangerous captive, if it could be done with safety, sent Cecil and sir William Mildmay in October to Chatsworth, where Mary now was, to try if any accommodation could be effected. It was proposed that she should resign all claim to the throne of England during the lives of Elizabeth and her issue†; marry no

* "She *persuaded herself*," says Lingard, "that it was connected with some plan of foreign invasion and domestic treason." She *knew* very well it was.

† The term *any issue* was used, and Mary insisted on the insertion of the

Englishman without Elizabeth's consent, and no one else without that of the states of Scotland ; send her son to be educated in England, etc. The earl of Morton and some others came to England as commissioners on the part of the young king. But nothing could be finally arranged, and the two queens and their friends made mutual charges of insincerity.

In the beginning of the year 1571, Elizabeth rewarded, in some slight degree, her most able and faithful minister sir William Cecil, by raising him to the peerage under the title of baron Burghley or Burleigh.

Before we enter on the next period of the reign of Elizabeth, it will be useful to impress on the mind of the reader the fact that the policy of the queen and her ministers was purely defensive. The whole catholic world might be said to be banded against her ; there was a catholic claimant of her throne, and a large portion of her subjects were of that persuasion. The great preservative of the public peace, a standing army, was then unknown in England ; the chief security therefore lay in prevention ; and hence arose the necessity of employing spies ; of opening and decyphering letters ; and of using various other expedients which it is so easy to place in an odious light ; and thereby to represent the whole system of government as being what is termed machination. In fact, the danger was at times so imminent, that Elizabeth's ablest and wisest ministers were, to use Burleigh's words, almost "driven to the end of their wits ;" and we might, without superstition, see a special Providence in the preservation of the religion and the independence of England at this most critical period.

word *lawful*. It is very plain, unless we believe the popish lies about Elizabeth, that the omission (like the employment of *natural* for *lawful* on a similar occasion) was caused by the queen's prudery, but Mary could not let slip the occasion of indulging her spite. She got however a reply that must have stung her. "Although," said Elizabeth, "we might make ourselves to be herein touched in honour, yet considering she may peradventure measure other folks' disposition by her own actions, we are content," &c.

CHAPTER XI.

ELIZABETH (CONTINUED).

1571—1587.

Religious parties.—Trial and execution of Norfolk.—Massacre of St. Bartholomew ;—its consequences.—Sir Francis Drake.—Elizabeth's coquetry with the duke of Anjou.—Persecution of the catholics.—Affairs of Scotland.—Danger of Elizabeth.—Dr. Parry.—The queen aids the Dutch.—Babington's conspiracy.—Trial of the queen of Scots.—Conduct of Elizabeth.—Execution of the queen of Scots.—Behaviour of Elizabeth after it.

THE important relations between the queens of England and Scotland have hitherto occupied our attention almost exclusively. We must now take a view of the state of religious parties in England and on the continent.

The first ten years of Elizabeth's reign were termed her "halcyon days," as being free from disturbance domestic or foreign. From the moment of the arrival of the queen of Scots in England this tranquillity was at an end. Henceforth the authority, and even the life, of Elizabeth was assailed by conspiracies founded in religious fanaticism and renewed without ceasing.

In those days religion was a matter of paramount importance in politics, and the strength of parties in a state was to be estimated by the number and influence of those who agreed in religious sentiments. There were three parties of this kind now in England: the catholics, the churchmen, and the puritans, as those who affected an extreme purity in religion, and held that the reformation had not gone far enough, were named.

It is the opinion of Hume, that "of all the European churches which shook off the yoke of papal authority, no one proceeded with so much reason and moderation as the church of England." "The fabric," he adds, "of the secular hierarchy was maintained entire; the ancient liturgy

was preserved so far as was thought consistent with the new principles; many ceremonies become venerable from age and preceding use were retained; the splendour of the Romish worship though removed had at least given place to order and decency; the distinctive habits of the clergy according to their different ranks were continued; no innovation was admitted merely from spite and opposition to former usage. And the new religion, by mitigating the genius of the ancient superstition, and rendering it more compatible with the peace and interests of society, had preserved itself in that happy medium which wise men have always sought, and which the people have so seldom been able to maintain."

The advantages of this moderation were felt in the early part of Elizabeth's reign; the catholics in general made little scruple of attending the church service, where, though they might regret the absence of some things, there was little to offend them. Had they been left to themselves they would probably have been gradually weaned from their superstitions; but the court of Rome on the one hand, by sending missionary priests about to assure them that such conduct was impious; and the rigid intolerant puritans on the other, by urging measures of severity against them, equally contributed to make them remain in their old faith*.

The puritans, though as a party they first acquired strength in the present reign, may be regarded as coeval

* "From the first year of queen Elizabeth till the eleventh," says sir Edward Coke, "all papists came to our church without scruple. I myself have seen Cornwallis, Bedingfield and others at church, so that then for the space of ten years they made no conscience nor doubt to communicate with us in prayer. But when once the bull of pope Pius Quintus was come and published, wherein the queen was accursed and deposed, and her subjects discharged of their obedience and oath, yea, cursed if they did obey her; then did they all forthwith refrain the church; then would they have no society with us in prayer: so that recusancy in them is not for religion, but in an acknowledgement of the pope's power, and a plain manifestation what their judgement is concerning the right of the prince in respect of regal power and place."—*Jardine's Criminal Trials*, ii. 132.

with the Reformation. They were those men of an ardent, uncompromising (often self-sufficient) temper, who thought they could never recede too far from the church of Rome. The clerical habits, the surplice, tippet and square cap, retained in the Anglican church, were abominations in their sight; they viewed with equal horror the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, of the ring in marriage, of the organ in the divine service, and the practice of kneeling at the communion. When the excellent Hooper was to be raised to the see of Gloucester in Edward's reign he positively refused to put on the episcopal robes; and he was committed to the Tower according to the practice of the age. Bucer, Peter Martyr, and other foreign divines were consulted on the occasion. At length he consented to wear the robes at his consecration and during cathedral service, but only on these occasions. When the Marian persecution forced so many of the reformers to fly, they were received with great kindness by the Calvinists abroad, and this confirmed them in their desire for simple, anti-Romish forms. The more learned and pious portion of the clergy in Elizabeth's reign may be reckoned of this party; the better part of the protestant gentry belonged to it, as was evinced by the composition of the houses of commons; it was favoured by Leicester and Walsingham among the ministers, and Burleigh himself was not adverse to it. The puritans were in fact the main support of protestantism in England, and the most determined foes of the queen of Scots. But archbishop Parker unwisely employed persecution against them; they gradually receded from the church, and many of them maintained the supremacy of the spiritual over the civil authority in terms more befitting a Gregory or an Innocent than the asserters of the rights of conscience.

The church party was the weakest of the three. Its main supports were the queen herself and the primate. Elizabeth regarded her spiritual supremacy as the brightest jewel in her crown, and would not be dictated to on that head. She was also partial to the splendour of public

worship, and she had a lurking tendency to some of the Romish doctrines. She long kept a crucifix with tapers burning before it in her chapel, she inclined much to the doctrine of the real presence*, and was with difficulty restrained from prohibiting the marriage of the clergy.

Such was the state of parties in England; in France and Flanders the protestants, though the minority, were numerous and active. Persecution to no small extent had been employed without effect against them; Charles V. had “hanged, beheaded, buried alive or burnt” 50,000 protestants according to Father Paul, 100,000 according to Grotius, in the Netherlands; and Francis I. and his successor had laboured to suppress the Reformation in France. In the summer of the year 1565 a meeting at the desire of the pope took place at Bayonne between Charles IX. and his sister the queen of Spain; the former was accompanied by his mother, the latter by the duke of Alva. Festivities occupied the day; at midnight Catherine and Alva it is said sat in secret conclave to discuss the mode of suppressing protestantism. To cut off its chiefs openly or secretly was Alva’s plan. “One salmon’s head,” he would say, “is worth a thousand frogs.” The principle was agreed on between them; the mode was left to the course of events.

In 1568 Alva was sent with a large army to the Low Countries, where he exercised such tyranny and cruelty as eventually drove the people to insurrection. In France the protestants, named Huguenots†, were headed by the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, the admiral Coligni and other nobles; the Guises were at the head of the other

* This throws doubt on the story of her eluding Gardiner in her sister’s reign by these well-known verses:—

“Christ was the word that spake it;
He took the bread and brake it,
And what that word did make it
That I believe, and take it.”

† This word is said to be a corruption of the German *Eidgenossen*, i. e. *Conjurati*, associates.

party; the queen-mother and the king played them against each other. Recourse was frequently had to arms, and Elizabeth had on more occasions than one assisted the Huguenots with money, and even with men.

In the beginning of this year (1571) a parliament met after an interval of five years. The puritanic party were strong in it, and some members, especially Strickland and Paul Wentworth, ventured to express themselves very firmly in opposition to the crown. Though the question of the queen's marriage was left untouched, the greatest zeal was manifested for her person and authority, and the first act passed was one making it treason to affirm that she was not the lawful sovereign, or that the laws cannot limit and determine the right to the crown and the succession; to maintain that any person except the *natural issue** of her body is or ought to be her heir or successor, was made an offence punishable by fine and imprisonment, and the second time by *præmunire*. It was also made treason to publish papal bulls, absolutions, etc.; to reconcile any one or be reconciled to the church of Rome. To import crucifixes, *agnus Dei*, or other popish trumpery, subjected the offender to the penalty of a *præmunire*.

The weak, ill-advised duke of Norfolk it was soon discovered was persisting in his treasonable projects. Mary's agent the bishop of Ross; Ridolfi, an Italian trader, the medium of communication of Mary and Norfolk with Alva and the pope; and the duke's secretary and two of his confidential servants, being arrested, it appeared from their confessions that a plan had been arranged that the duke of

* The employment of the word *natural* in this act originated, like the omission of *lawful* above-mentioned, in royal prudery. "But the papistical libellers put the most absurd interpretation on it, as if it was meant to secure the succession for some imaginary bastards by Leicester. And Dr. Lingard is not ashamed to insinuate the same suspicion."—Hallam, i. 202. In his last edition (viii. 458.) Lingard gives the history of one of these bastards who was entertained at the court of Spain in 1587. He says, that from the manner in which Philip treated him, he could not have regarded him as an impostor. He forgot, it seems, the pseudo-Richard IV. and his own exposure of Perkin Warbeck.

Alva should land with ten thousand men at Harwich, where he was to be joined by Norfolk and his friends, and they were to march to London and force the queen to consent to Norfolk's marriage with the queen of Scots, and to repeal the laws against the catholics. Norfolk, who knew not of the discoveries which had been made, was summoned before the council; he denied everything: and the queen, who (as she always declared) would have pardoned him if he had confessed his guilt, committed him to the Tower (Sept. 7). On the 16th of January (1572) he was brought to trial before the lord steward and twenty-six peers. The trial was conducted with perfect fairness according to the mode then in use; he defended himself with spirit and eloquence, but the peers unanimously pronounced him guilty. In various supplicatory letters which he wrote to the queen the duke acknowledged the justice of the verdict.

The conduct of the queen on this occasion tends much to elucidate her character, as it proves her aversion from bloodshed, and will incline us to believe that her behaviour in a similar case some years later was not mere hypocrisy. Norfolk's guilt was great and clear, yet she could not bring herself to put him to death. Burleigh writes to Walsingham (Feb. 11) thus: "I cannot write to you what is the inward cause of the stay of the duke of Norfolk's death, only that I find her majesty diversely disposed. Sometimes when she speaketh of her danger, she concludes that justice should be done. Another time, when she speaks of his nearness of blood, of his superiority of honour, etc. she stayeth. On Saturday she signed a warrant for his execution. On Monday all preparations were made and concourse of thousands yesterday morning; but suddenly on Sunday late in the night she sent for me and entered into great misliking that the duke should die the next day, and said she was and should be disquieted, and would have a new warrant made that night to the sheriffs to forbear." Again (Apr. 9) she signed a warrant, but she revoked it after midnight.

The queen's repugnancy to shed the blood of her kinsman and the first of her nobles was such, that even Leicester gave it as his opinion that no execution would take place. But Burleigh and the other ministers pressed it; the commons when they assembled petitioned for it; the preachers were importunate; and plots to liberate the prisoner were detected. A third warrant was not revoked, and on the 2nd of June, nearly five months after his trial, the duke was led to execution.

On the scaffold Norfolk acknowledged the justice of his sentence and declared his attachment to the protestant faith. He died with constancy and resignation amidst the tears of the bystanders; for his noble birth, his popular and engaging manners, and his munificent temper had endeared him to the people. His ambition united to weakness of character made him a tool in the hands of an artful woman* and the wily court of Rome, and brought him to an untimely end. He certainly never dreamed of dethroning or injuring queen Elizabeth, by whom the necessity of his death was sincerely lamented†.

Abundant proofs had now been given of the share of the queen of Scots in all the conspiracies against Elizabeth; Burleigh and other ministers had long been of opinion that nothing but her death would give security to the nation. The parliament resolved to proceed against her by bill of attainder, but the queen positively forbade it. A bill was then introduced and passed to make her incapable of the succession, but the queen defeated this also by a prorogation (June 25).

In Scotland the lords of Mary's party had in the preceding year (Sept. 4) seized and put to death the regent Lennox. The earl of Mar succeeded, but he died shortly after,

* Though she had never seen him, her "political love-letters," as they have justly been called, are conceived in terms of the strongest affection.

† "The queen," writes Burleigh (June 6), "is somewhat sad for the duke of Norfolk's death." Two years after, when his sister lady Berkeley knelt to ask a favour of her, "No, no, my lady Berkeley," said she in haste, "we know you never will love us for the death of your brother."

and Morton was appointed regent. The lords of the queen's party laid down their arms on receiving an indemnity ; and the regent, with the aid of sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, reduced the castle of Edinburgh, which was held out by Kirkcaldy of Grange and Lethington. The former was tried and executed ; the latter died in prison by his own hand, as was generally believed.

On the eve of St. Bartholomew an atrocity without parallel in history was perpetrated in the French capital. All the leaders of the protestant party had been invited thither on the occasion of the marriage of the young king of Navarre, their ostensive head, with Margaret, sister of Charles IX. The marriage was celebrated on the 18th of August ; four days after (22nd), the admiral Coligni was fired at and wounded from the window of a house belonging to a dependent of the duke of Guise. Next day the king, the queen-mother, and the court came to visit him. After midnight the tocsin sounded and the protestants were fallen on and massacred in their beds. The admiral, his son-in-law Teligni, Rochefoucauld, and nearly one thousand more of the nobles and gentry, and five thousand other protestants perished. The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé only saved their lives by a change of religion. Similar massacres were perpetrated at Orleans, Rouen, Lyons, and other cities in the course of the succeeding month. They closed with one at Bordeaux on the 4th of October. The number of victims immolated to the demon of fanaticism is variously estimated at from 10,000 to 100,000 ; the duke de Sully gives the number at 70,000, the accurate and veracious Thuanus at 30,000*. Medals were struck and an annual procession of thanksgiving was appointed to commemorate it at Paris. The tidings were

* Dr. Lingard says that if we say about fifteen hundred " we shall perhaps not be far from the real amount " !! He must surely know, that however a monkish chronicler might mistake, a man like Thuanus was not capable of falling into such an enormous error. In his last edition (viii. 96.) this candid historian makes no computation whatever, and from his language the reader might infer that only a few scores were slaughtered, and that purely out of retaliation for the barbarities previously perpetrated by the Huguenots.

received with every demonstration of joy at Madrid and in the camp of Alva. At Rome the pope and cardinals went to return thanks to Heaven for this event in the church of St. Louis, the canonised king of France.

What the connexion of this atrocious deed was with the meeting at Bayonne, how long it had been premeditated, and by whom, and whether the young king was guilty or not of the fiendish dissimulation with which he has been charged, are questions into which we cannot now enter. We incline, however, to think that Charles really was deceived by his mother and her confederates, and was made to believe that the Huguenots had formed a dangerous conspiracy, which could only be repressed by anticipating it.

The French ambassador in England, La Motte Fenelon, was instructed to make this excuse to Elizabeth. He repaired to Woodstock, where the court was then residing. When admitted to an audience, he was led through rooms in which a silence like to that of the tombs prevailed. The lords and ladies habited in deep mourning took no notice of him as he passed. Elizabeth herself, however, listened to his excuses with calmness; she then showed how inadequate they were, and expressed her desire that the king should institute an inquiry, and if the charge was found to be a calumny punish the authors of it. Her opinion of the king's intentions, she said, would be regulated by his conduct on this occasion. Only two days before the massacre Fenelon had proposed to her a marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's youngest brother, though he was a youth of but seventeen years. She let the treaty still go on, and when Charles soon after had a daughter born to him, she accepted the invitation to stand godmother, and sent the earl of Worcester, a catholic nobleman, to represent her at the christening.

This temporising policy was forced upon Elizabeth by the circumstances of the times. Every day gave fresh proof of the determination of the catholic powers to exterminate the reformers. Should Charles succeed in France

and Philip in the Netherlands, England might be the next object of attack, and the claim of the queen of Scots be supported by foreign armies. It was therefore the interest of the English queen to neutralise if possible one of these sovereigns. Burleigh, Walsingham, and the other statesmen believed the death of Mary to be absolutely necessary for the safety of Elizabeth. Sandys bishop of London, writing at this time to Burleigh on the state of affairs, suggested as one of the precautionary measures, "forthwith to cut off the Scottish queen's head;" and Henry Killigrew was sent (Sept. 7) into Scotland to propose to the then regent Mar to deliver her up to him and his party, provided "they should give good assurance to proceed with her by way of justice, as they had already many times offered to do." It is assumed that the upright character of Mar was the cause of this measure not being carried into effect; but as he died, and was immediately succeeded by Morton (Nov. 9), we may, with perhaps more probability, ascribe it to Elizabeth's aversion from bloodshed.

The apprehended storm, however, did not burst upon England. The Huguenots quickly recovered from the stupor into which the massacre had thrown them, and resumed their arms; Elizabeth connived at money and men being sent to them out of England. In a similar underhand manner she aided the prince of Orange and the protestants of the Netherlands. Charles IX. died of a dreadful disease, and in the pangs of remorse (1574); the duke of Anjou, who had been elected king of Poland, succeeded him under the name of Henry III.; the king of Navarre and prince of Condé made their escape, resumed the protestant religion and became the heads of the Huguenots; they were also joined by the duke of Alençon, now Anjou, and the king gave them most favourable terms (1576); the catholics in return formed the LEAGUE headed by the Guises in concert with the king of Spain.

During all this time the utmost tranquillity prevailed in England; the queen of Scots, hopeless of aid from her own

country, (where the regent Morton merely ruled under Elizabeth,) or from the catholic princes, seems to have abated from her machinations, and the catholics in general, connived at in their private worship, remained at rest. Elizabeth, in those stately progresses which she was in the habit of making every year, found the means of extending her popularity, and endearing herself to all orders of her people. Commercial and maritime enterprise much engaged the public mind. A trade was established with the Levant; the Russian trade, which had commenced in the late reign, was maintained; various efforts were made to reach the east by the north of Europe or America, and so early as 1567, Martin Frobisher penetrated to the sea afterwards named Hudson's Bay. Other adventurers pursued a more lucrative but less honourable course. John Hawkins, a gentleman of Devon, for example, fitted out vessels with which he proceeded to the coast of Africa, and seizing the inoffensive natives, sold them for slaves to the Spaniards in America.

But the man who most distinguished himself at this time was Francis Drake. The father of this great navigator was a man in humble circumstances in Devon, who having embraced the reformed doctrines in the time of Henry VIII., found it necessary, on account of the Six Articles, to remove to Kent. In the reign of Edward VI. he got into orders, and was made vicar of Upnore near Chatham on the Medway. He put his son Francis to a neighbour of his, the master of a bark, who on his death left his ship to the youth. In 1567 Drake sold his bark and went and joined Hawkins, then about to sail on an expedition to America; but in the bay of St. Juan de Ulloa they were attacked by a superior Spanish force and defeated. Drake thus lost his all, but "by playing the seaman and the pirate" for some years he retrieved his fortune. A divine in the navy having satisfied him as to the lawfulness of his design, he set sail with a man of war named the Dragon and two pinnaces in 1572, and attacked and took

the town of Nombre de Dios on the Isthmus of Panama. Having been informed by some Cimarrons (runaway negroes) of the approach of a caravan of mules with treasure from Panama, he waylaid and plundered it. As he was roaming over the Isthmus under the guidance of the Cimarrons, they showed him from the top of a mountain the Pacific Ocean. He fell on his knees, made a vow to visit that sea, and implored the divine aid for his enterprise.

On the 13th of December, 1577, Drake sailed from Plymouth with five ships, carrying one hundred and sixty-three men. Having on his way taken the crews and stores out of two of his ships, which he then turned adrift, he passed Magellan's Straits with the remaining three. A violent tempest then came on and dispersed them; one returned through the straits, another was lost; Drake with the third proceeded along the coast of Chili and Peru, making descents and plundering the ships which he found in harbour, or on sea; for as an enemy had never appeared in these seas the Spaniards were without suspicion. As the alarm was now given, he feared to return by the way he came; he therefore boldly stretched across the ocean westwards, and reached the Moluccas, whence he proceeded to Java, and thence to the Cape of Good Hope. He landed at Plymouth on the third of November, 1580, after an absence of three years all but six weeks. He then went round to the Thames, and his ship was laid up at Deptford, where the queen condescended to partake of a banquet on board, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood. The amount of his plunder was 800,000*l.*, a tenth of which was divided among the officers and crew of the ship. A large sum was afterwards paid over to a Spaniard who represented himself as the agent for those who had been plundered, and the queen learned, when too late, that instead of being given to the real owners, it was employed for the payment of the troops in the Netherlands.

The treaty for a marriage with the duke of Anjou still went on. In 1578 this prince sent over one Simier, a man

of wit and capacity, as his agent ; and Simier made himself so agreeable to Elizabeth, that Leicester began to fear that she would overcome her aversion to marriage, and he himself thus lose his influence with her. He therefore, to injure Simier in her opinion, gave out that he had bewitched her by magic arts ; Simier in revenge informed the queen of a matter which Leicester had studiously concealed from her, namely, that he had been privately married to the widow of lord Essex. Elizabeth, who had such a strange aversion to marriage in others as well as in herself, was so enraged, that, but for the intercession of lord Sussex, his personal enemy, she would have sent him to the Tower. Leicester was then accused of having employed one Tudor, of the queen's guard, to assassinate Simier. It happened too, that as the queen was rowing one day in her barge on the Thames, in company with Simier and some others, a shot was fired by a young man in a boat which wounded one of her bargemen. A design to murder herself or Simier was at once supposed ; but the young man having proved that the piece went off by accident he was pardoned at the gallows. Elizabeth said on this, as on several other occasions, that she would believe nothing of her people which parents would not believe of their own children.

Anjou himself came over soon after, and had a private interview with Elizabeth at Greenwich ; and it is rather curious, that though she was such an admirer of personal beauty, and the duke's face had been sadly disfigured by the smallpox, she was so far pleased with him that she seems to have had serious thoughts of marrying him. After a month or two, she directed Burleigh, Sussex, Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham to confer with Simier on the subject.

The acquisition of the crown and dominions of Portugal by Philip of Spain in 1580, made the court of France most anxious for a close connection with that of England. A splendid embassy was sent thither (1581) to treat of the marriage. Elizabeth's heart was certainly in favour of the

duke; marriage-articles were actually agreed on, and the union was to take place in six weeks. A clause however was added which would enable her to recede if she pleased.

The truth is, there was a violent struggle in the queen's breast between prudence and inclination. Anjou had certainly made an impression on her heart, and her pride was gratified at the prospect of an alliance with the royal house of France. On the other hand, her good sense suggested to her the folly of a woman in her forty-ninth year marrying a young man, and her subjects in general and several of her ministers were adverse to a connection with the blood-stained house of Valois; and now indeed, as there was so little prospect of her bearing children, they were little anxious for her marriage at all. An honest but hot-headed puritan of Lincoln's-inn, named Stubbs, wrote a book, entitled, "The Gulf in which England will be swallowed by the French Marriage." The queen caused him and the printer, and one Page who circulated it, to be prosecuted, under an act passed in her sister's reign, and they were sentenced to lose their right hands. The sentence was executed on Stubbs and Page; and the former, loyal in the face of injustice and cruelty, instantly took off his hat with his remaining hand, and waving it over his head, cried "God save the queen*!" A person of much higher rank than poor Stubbs also wrote against the marriage; sir Philip Sidney, the gallant warrior and accomplished scholar, addressed an able and elegant letter to the queen on the subject.

Anjou was at this time in the Netherlands. The people of the provinces in revolt had some years before (1575) offered the sovereignty, of which they declared Philip deprived, to the queen of England; she had prudently declined it at that time, and when it was again offered to her (1580) she persisted in her resolution. It was then proffered to the duke of Anjou; his brother permitted him to

* Burleigh often afterwards employed Stubbs in answering the popish libellers. As he was obliged to write with his left hand he always signed himself *Scæva*.

accept it and secretly supplied him with money. He entered the Netherlands with about fifteen thousand men, and he forced the Spaniards to raise the siege of Cambray; Elizabeth had on this occasion proved her regard for him by sending him a present of 100,000 crowns. At the close of the campaign he came over to England, where his reception from the queen was most flattering. A few days after the anniversary of her accession (Nov. 22), she, in the presence of her court, drew a ring from her finger and placed it on his in token of pledging herself to him. The affair was now regarded as decided; the envoy from the Netherlands wrote off instantly, and public rejoicings were made at Antwerp and other towns. But Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, who were strongly opposed to the match, remonstrated earnestly with the queen, and when she retired her ladies of the bed-chamber fell on their knees and with sighs and tears conjured her to pause, representing the evil consequences that might ensue. She passed a sleepless and uneasy night; next morning she had a long conversation with the duke, in which she exposed her reasons for sacrificing her inclinations to her duty to her people. He withdrew deeply mortified to his apartments, where he flung away the ring, exclaiming against the fickleness of women and islanders. He however remained in England till the following year (1582), the queen still giving him hopes. When he departed (Feb. 8) she made him promise to return in a month; accompanied him as far as Canterbury; and sent Leicester and a gallant train to attend him even to Brussels. He was now made duke of Brabant and earl of Flanders, but attempting some time after to make himself absolute, he was driven out of the country, and he died in France (1584) after a tedious illness, mourned by Elizabeth, who really loved him, though his character seems to have been as vicious as those of the rest of his family. A union with him would certainly have been productive of neither advantage nor happiness to the queen or her people.

The laws against *recusants*, as the catholics were now called, were at this time put into more rigorous execution than heretofore, and by a new act (1581) a penalty of 20*l.* a month was imposed on those who absented themselves from church, unless they heard the English service at home*. We are no advocates for persecution, but we require in justice that the queen and her council should be judged by the maxims and practice of the sixteenth and not by those of the nineteenth century, and not be condemned for employing the means then in use for counteracting the plots of the pope and king of Spain for overthrowing the protestant religion in England, and depriving the queen of her crown and life. The laws passed for the security of the queen and the reformed religion were certainly most severe, and to our ideas most unjust; but complaint ill became the catholics, who had never, where they had the power, shown the least symptom of a tolerating spirit, and if they chose to violate these laws their punishment was merited on their own principles.

There were two classes of Romish priests who sought the glory of martyrdom in England, the Jesuits and the Seminary-priests. The former society, the most able support of the pretensions of the papacy, had been founded in the time of Charles V.; in blind obedience to the mandates of its General or chief, who resided at Rome, it most strongly resembled the Assassins of the East, and so many murders were at this time perpetrated or instigated by Jesuits, that we fear their principles justified every crime committed in the cause of Rome. The Seminary-priests were a better sort of men. Fearing that when queen Mary's priests, as the catholic clergymen who still lingered in England were called, should die off, the people there would conform to

* This is said by sir Edw. Coke to be the first general law against recusants. "There was no law," says he, "made against recusants till the 23rd year of her majesty's reign, when a mild law was made, that they should either come to church or pay 20*l.* a month for refusing to do so, which indeed was too easy a law considering the many bloody plots of the papists against the queen."—Jardine's Crim. Trials, ii. 246. This shows the feelings of the times.

the protestant religion for want of teachers of their own, William Allen, who had been a fellow of Oxford, conceived the design of forming seminaries on the continent for the education of missionaries to be sent to England. The pope approved of the project and contributed money. Allen opened the first seminary at Douay in 1568; others were afterwards established at Rome, Valladolid and elsewhere. Zealous English catholics secretly sent their children to be educated at them, in order that they might return as missionaries to teach the doctrines of their church, and inculcate, what the English government regarded as rebellion, that the queen should be deposed as a heretic.

The first who suffered was a priest named Maine, in Cornwall (1577). He was charged with having obtained a bull from Rome, denied the queen's supremacy, and said mass in a private house. He was executed at Launceston as a traitor. Mr. Tregian, the gentleman in whose house he was taken, suffered the penalty of a *præmunire*, his estate was seized and he remained in prison till his death. The next year, Nelson, a priest, and Sherwood, a layman, were executed for denying the supremacy.

In 1580 the Jesuits made their first appearance in England. Persons and Campian, both formerly members of the university of Oxford, where they had professed protestantism, but who were now members of the society of Jesuits, came over, and under various disguises, as soldiers, as protestant ministers and so forth, went through the country confirming the catholics in their religion. A chief part of their commission was to quiet the minds of the scrupulous, by giving them the sense put by Gregory XIII. on the bull of Pius V., namely, that it was always binding on Elizabeth and the heretics, but not on the catholics till they could put it in execution, that is to say, they were to obey the queen until they were able to dethrone her. The notions on this head however advanced by Persons were so offensive to many catholics that they had thoughts of seizing him and giving him up to the government. Campian, a far better

man, put forth papers offering to dispute on the points in controversy before the universities.

A diligent search was set on foot, and after a year's pursuit Campian was taken and committed to the Tower. According to the barbarous practice of the age he was put to the rack, and he revealed the names of several of those who had received him into their houses. Campian and twelve other priests were indicted on the 25th Edw. III. According to the printed trial nothing could be more unfair than the manner in which the trial was conducted, nothing more feeble than the evidence given*. They were however found guilty, and Campian and two others were executed forthwith, and seven of the remainder some months after. It is impossible not to feel pity for the fate of these upright, pious men, but we must at the same time recollect, that however they might disguise it from themselves, their ultimate object was the overthrow of the government; there was probably not one of them who did not deem it his duty to dethrone Elizabeth and to place Mary on the throne. They would not in fact have been Jesuits, or even catholics, if they did not; and if sincerity and purity of motive are to excuse conspiracy, governments will often find it difficult to justify themselves in punishing rebels.

Affairs in Scotland at this time caused some uneasiness to the English cabinet. Morton, though his vigorous rule kept the country quiet, gave great offence by his harshness and avarice. He at length resigned his authority (1578) into the hands of the king, now in his thirteenth year, and the royal child seemed to administer the government; but Morton soon recovered his influence. The following year however the Guise party sent Stuart lord of Aubigny over to Scotland, and his amiable manners soon won the heart of James, who created him earl and afterwards duke of Lennox; another favourite was Stewart of Ochiltree, afterwards

* Hallam (i. 198) is of opinion that the account of the trial was "compiled by a partial hand." The witnesses were confronted with Campian, which was not usual.

earl of Arran. These two combined against Morton, and at their impulsion he was brought to trial (1581) for the murder of the king's father. He was found guilty and executed, in spite of the exertions of Elizabeth, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Orange to save him. His execution proves the boldness and ambition of Arran, not the filial piety of James*.

The Jesuits resolved to take advantage of the death of Morton and the influence of the catholic Lennox. Waytes, an English priest, and then Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, appeared at Holyrood-house. James received them favourably, and as he complained of want of money it was hoped by supplying him with it to gain him over to their projects. Persons and Creighton repaired to Paris, where they secretly consulted with the duke of Guise, the papal nuncio, the provincial of the Jesuits, the Spanish ambassador, Mary's agent the bishop of Glasgow, and Dr. Allen the founder of the seminaries. It was agreed that Mary and James should be associated in the throne, and the pope and king of Spain be solicited to supply James with money†. The plan was communicated to Mary, who approved of it, as also it is said did Lennox and Arran, and James himself. But the 'Raid of Ruthven,' as it was called, disconcerted all these projects. James was seized by the earl of Gowrie in concert with some of the leading protestants, and forced to dismiss Lennox and Arran, the former of whom retired to France, where he died soon after; the latter was cast into prison. Whether the English council were cognisant of the Raid or not is uncer-

* Elizabeth justly said to the bishop of St. Andrews, "I wonder that James has had the earl of Morton executed, as guilty of the death of the king his father, and that he requires Archibald Douglas to be given up in order to treat him in the same manner. *Why does he not desire his mother to be given up in order to punish her for that crime?*"—Castelnau, Letters to the Queen of Scots in 1584.

† "It is probable," says Lingard, "that other projects, with which we are unacquainted, were also formed." No doubt the dethronement of Elizabeth was one.

tain. They knew of the consultation in Paris and of its objects, and how vital it was to England that the supreme power in Scotland should be in the hands of protestants. Sir Henry Carey and sir Robert Bowes were sent to congratulate James on his deliverance from the counsels of Lennox and Arran; to exhort him not to resent the late seeming violence; and to procure the recall of the earl of Angus. James readily assented to the return of Angus, and he dissembled his resentment against his captors. Mary at this time wrote a long letter to Elizabeth, of which no notice seems to have been taken; for the queen was well aware of her machinations*.

By a bold effort James succeeded (1583) in freeing himself from the restraint in which he was held. Most of the opposite party quitted the kingdom, and Arran recovered his influence. Elizabeth, desirous of knowing accurately the character of the young monarch, sent the aged and sagacious Walsingham on an embassy to his court. James, who had been the pupil of the illustrious Buchanan and had naturally good parts, shone in conversation, and Walsingham conceived an opinion of his abilities beyond what they were entitled to. The tyranny of Arran soon (1584), however, caused his downfall, and the English party regained their ascendancy in the Scottish council to the great satisfaction of Elizabeth. On Arran's return to power, the conclave at Paris had proposed that James should invade the northern counties while Guise should land with an army in the south of England to liberate Mary and dethrone Elizabeth. It would appear to be the knowledge of this plan that made the queen take no notice of a renewed proposal of Mary for transferring all her authority

* "If the queen of Scotland," said she to Castelnau in January 1583, "had had any one else to deal with she would have lost her head long ago. She has a correspondence with rebels in England, agents in Paris, Rome, and Madrid, and carries on plots against me all over Christendom, the object of which (as messengers who have been taken confess) is to deprive me of my kingdom and my life."

to her son if she were set at liberty. For Creighton, being taken by a Dutch cruizer on his return to Scotland at this time, tore his papers and threw them into the sea, but the wind blowing them back, they were put together, and revealed the plan for invading England. He was given up to the English government, and being menaced with the rack made a full disclosure of the plot.

The government had so many proofs of the foreign and domestic conspiracy in favour of the queen of Scots, that they found it needful to have recourse to every possible expedient for discovering those concerned in it. In a moral point of view the employment of spies may be reprehensible, but in times of danger no government has yet been found to abstain from this mode of discovering and thwarting the designs of their enemies; and never did ministers better know how to manage it than Cecil and Walsingham. Spies were now employed, informers were listened to, the more questionable expedient of sending counterfeit letters in the name of the queen of Scots or of the exiles to the houses of suspected catholics was, it is said, resorted to. The information thus gained led to the arrest of two gentlemen named Throgmorton; the lord Paget and Charles Arundel immediately fled to France; the earl of Northumberland (brother of the late earl) and the earl of Arundel (son of the late duke of Norfolk) were called before the council and examined. A letter to Mary on the subject of a rising having been intercepted, Francis Throgmorton was put to the rack; he owned to having concerted the plan of an invasion and a rising of the catholics with Mendoza the Spanish ambassador; on his trial he denied it; after his condemnation he again confessed it; on the scaffold he denied it once more. Mendoza, however, was ordered to depart the kingdom. He retired to Paris, where he gratified his malignity by publishing lies of the queen and her ministers, and by aiding every plan for raising a rebellion in England.

It is gratifying to observe at this time the affection which

the people displayed for their glorious queen. The French ambassador writes thus: "Queen Elizabeth has told me that several conspiracies, directed by the Jesuits, have been, by the goodness of God, discovered. Latterly, when she has appeared in public, whole crowds of people fell on their knees as she passed, prayed in various ways, invoked upon her a thousand blessings, and hoped that all her wicked enemies might be discovered and punished. She often stopped and returned thanks for all this love. When I was alone with her (she rode on a good horse) amidst all this crowd, she said to me, 'You see that all do not wish me ill.' " A further proof of this affection was given by the zeal with which men of all ranks pressed forward to subscribe a bond of association framed by Leicester and some others of the council for her security. Its purport was to defend her person, to avenge her death or any injury done her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants for whose advantage or at whose suggestion any evil should befall her. The queen of Scots saw plainly that she was the person aimed at, and to remove suspicion she begged to be allowed to subscribe the bond, but the permission was refused. She was at this time at Wingfield under the custody of sir Ralph Sadler.

When parliament met (Nov. 23), an act was passed "for the security of the queen's person and continuance of the realm in peace." It enacts that if any invasion or rebellion should be made by or for any person pretending a title to the crown after her majesty's decease, or if anything be compassed or imagined tending to the hurt of her person with the privity of any such person, a certain number of peers and others commissioned by the queen should examine and give judgement thereon, and all persons against whom such judgement should be published should be disabled for ever from claiming the crown. The object of this act was to obtain from the reluctant queen, in case of any rebellious movements, an absolute exclusion of Mary from the succession,

A most severe law was passed against the catholics. The Jesuits and priests were ordered to quit the kingdom within forty days; those who remained beyond that time or returned should be guilty of treason; those who harboured or relieved them of felony; students at the seminaries were to be guilty of treason if they did not return within six months; those supplying them with money to be liable to a *præmunire*, etc.

This bill was opposed by one Dr. Parry, a civilian, who described it as "a measure savouring of blood, danger, and despair to English subjects"; for this he was committed, but he was released next day by the queen's order. Soon after he was sent to the Tower, being accused by Edmund Neville of a design to assassinate the queen. He confessed his guilt, and he was condemned and executed as a traitor.

Parry's confession was in substance as follows. He was in the queen's service from 1570 to 1580, when having attempted to kill a man to whom he was in debt, and having obtained a pardon, he went to Paris, where he was reconciled to the church of Rome. At Venice, some time after, he hinted to a Jesuit named Palmio that he had found a way to relieve the English catholics if the pope or any learned divines would justify it as lawful. Palmio extolled the project (which was to kill the queen) as a pious design, and recommended him to the nuncio: letters of safe conduct for Parry to go to Rome were sent by cardinal Como. He returned, however, to Paris, and there conversing with his countryman Morgan, the agent of the queen of Scots, he declared himself ready to kill the greatest subject in England in the cause of the church. "Why not the queen herself?" said Morgan. But of this Parry now had doubts, as Watts an English priest and Creighton the Scottish Jesuit had assured him it was not lawful. The nuncio Ragazzoni, however, confirmed him in his design, and he received after his return to England a letter from cardinal Como in the pope's name commending his project and gi-

ving him absolution. He communicated this letter "to some in court," and he had various interviews with the queen, on which occasions (such is the force of natural feelings) he always went unarmed lest he might be tempted to injure her. A book which Dr. Allen had lately written, however, confirmed him again in his resolution; he communicated it to Neville; they arranged their plan; but lord Westmoreland happening to die at this time, Neville, in hopes of getting the family estates, betrayed his confederate.

Without stopping to inquire how far this confession is true or false, we will only observe that the world had just had a convincing proof that the catholic party scrupled not at assassination. On the 10th of July, 1584, the great prince of Orange was shot by a man named Balthazar Gerard, who confessed that he had been kept for some time in the Jesuits' college at Treves by one of the brotherhood, who approved of his design and instructed him how to proceed. Philip II. had set a large reward on the prince's head, and his great general the prince of Parma sullied his fame by personally examining the qualifications of the assassins who presented themselves.

The Dutch were dismayed at the loss of their hero and at the rapid progress of the prince of Parma, and they sent again offering the sovereignty to Elizabeth. The matter was anxiously debated in the English council; the danger to the protestant interest was imminent; Philip was in the zenith of his power; the League was nearly triumphant in France; and if the Dutch were subdued England would certainly be attacked. Elizabeth boldly resolved to face the danger at once, and, as the king of Sweden said when he heard of it, take the diadem from her head and hazard it on the chance of war. She declined the proffered sovereignty, but agreed to aid the States with a force of five thousand foot and one thousand horse, to be maintained at her expense during the war; the money thus expended

to be repaid by the States when peace should have been concluded (1585).

The chief command was given to the earl of Leicester, who though by no means deficient in courage or talents was totally without military experience, and he was to be opposed to the first general of the age. He landed at Flushing (Dec. 10) accompanied by the gallant young earl of Essex, his step-son, and a company of nobles, knights, and gentlemen to the number of five hundred. The States, in the expectation of gratifying Elizabeth by honouring her favourite, bestowed on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, gave him a guard, and treated him nearly like a sovereign. But these proceedings were by no means pleasing to the queen; she wrote in very angry terms to both him and the States, and was not appeased without difficulty. "We little thought," wrote she to the earl, "*that one whom we have raised out of the dust* and surrounded with singular honour above all others would with so great contempt have broken our commandment in a matter of so great weight." Leicester's first campaign (1586) was not very brilliant, neither was it quite so discreditable as it is represented by writers hostile to his memory. The most remarkable event of it was the death of his nephew sir Philip Sidney, the ornament of his age and country, equally distinguished in arms, in literature and in manners, the nearest approach perhaps to the ideal of the perfect knight that has ever appeared.

The unfortunate event thus occurred. The prince of Parma, having sent some troops to the relief of Zutphen, which Leicester had invested, they fell in with an inferior force of the besieging army. Sidney was among the latter, and his horse being killed under him, he was mounting another when a musket ball struck him in the thigh. He turned and rode back to the main army; loss of blood making him thirsty, he called for drink; a bottle of water

was given him; he put it to his lips, but seeing a wounded soldier looking wistfully at it, he said, "Thy necessity is yet greater than mine," and handed it to him. After lingering for about three weeks, he breathed his last with the utmost piety and resignation (Oct. 16). Leicester did not remain long after in Holland. On his return to the Hague, he was assailed with complaints on his conduct by the States. He gave them fair words and then sailed for England (Dec. 3), where the case of the queen of Scots now called for his presence.

While Leicester was thus inglorious in the Netherlands, Drake, who had been sent to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies, had had more success. He took St. Domingo, Carthagena, and some other towns, and returned with booty valued at 60,000*l.*, and 240 pieces of cannon.

A league offensive and defensive was formed this year (1586) between Elizabeth and the king of Scots, for the mutual defence of their dominions and their religion against the catholic powers. The queen was to grant James a pension of 5000*l.* a year, equivalent to his claim on the English property of his paternal grandmother lately deceased.

In the summer of this year a conspiracy against the queen of the most dangerous character was detected by the sagacity of Walsingham. Some priests at Rheims, actuated by a fanatical hatred of Elizabeth, and regarding the deposing bull of Pius V. as inspired by the Holy Ghost, had worked themselves into a belief that her assassination would be an act meritorious in the sight of God. Three of these men, Dr. Gifford, his brother Gilbert, and one Hodgeson, instigated a man named John Savage, who had served in the Spanish army, to the deed, instructed him how to perform it, and sent him over with strong recommendations to the English catholics. About this time also one Ballard, a seminary-priest, came from England to Paris, and stating there to the enemies of Elizabeth the readiness of the English catholics to rise if an invasion were made, for

which the present was the time, as the best troops were away with Leicester in Holland, a plan for that purpose was devised, and Ballard was sent back to prepare the catholics. It does not appear that the assassination of the queen was determined on, though Charles Paget asserted that there was no use in invading England as long as she lived.

Ballard came over in the disguise of a soldier, calling himself captain Fortescue. He disclosed the project to Anthony Babington, a young man of good fortune in Derbyshire, who had been recommended to Mary by Morgan and the bishop of Glasgow, and had been for some time the agent in conveying letters between her and them. Babington at once approved of the plot; but, like Paget, maintained that there was no chance while the queen lived. Ballard then told him of Savage; but he objected to committing a matter of such importance to the hand of one man, and proposed to join with him five others for whose courage and fidelity he could answer. Ballard agreed, and Babington then opened his views to some catholic gentlemen, his intimate friends, who readily consented to join in them.* The correspondence was renewed between Babington and Mary, who expressed her perfect approbation of the plan in all its parts. She was now at Chartley, in Staffordshire, under the charge of sir Amias Paulet, a rigid puritan, but a man of strict honour.

The conspirators were in general vain thoughtless young men, as is proved by their folly of having a painting made of the six who were to murder the queen, with Babington in the midst of them; for, in reliance on each other's honour, they deemed themselves secure from discovery. But

* They were Edw. Windsor, T. Salisbury, Ch. Tilney, Chidicok Tichbourne, Edw. Abington, Rob. Gage, J. Charnock, J. Travers, J. Jones, H. Dunn, and Barnwell, an Irish gentleman. Of these, Tilney, Tichbourne, Abington, Barnwell, and Charnock were appointed with Savage to murder the queen. Tilney and Tichbourne at first refused; but their scruples were overcome by Ballard and Babington. Salisbury could not be induced to attempt her life.

all their doings were well known to Walsingham; a priest named Maud, who had accompanied Ballard to France, was in his pay, as also was Polly, one of Babington's confederates. Finally, when Gilbert Gifford was sent over to England to urge on Savage, he privately tendered his services to Walsingham. As Gifford was to be the medium for communicating with the queen of Scots, Walsingham wished Paulet to connive at his bribing one of his servants; but to this the scrupulous puritan would not consent: he, however, suffered a brewer's boy who served the house with beer to be the agent*, and the letters were conveyed through a hole in a wall, which was stopped with a loose stone. Ballard and Babington being suspicious of Gifford, gave him at first only blank letters; but finding that these went safe, they dropped all suspicions. The whole correspondence thus passed through the hands of Walsingham; all the letters were deciphered and copied, and the entire plot and the names of the actors were discovered. Walsingham communicated what he had learned to no one but the queen.

Babington wished to send Ballard abroad to urge the foreign invasion, and had procured a license for him under a feigned name. He also intended to go himself for the same purpose, and applied to Walsingham, affecting great zeal for the queen's cause. The minister kept him in hand, and even induced him to come to reside in the mean time at his house. Walsingham wished to carry on this secret mode of proceeding still longer; but the queen said that by not preventing the danger in time she "should seem rather to tempt God than to trust in God." Ballard therefore was arrested. Babington was then desirous that no time should be lost in killing the queen, and he gave his ring and some money to Savage, whose appearance was very shabby, that he might buy himself good clothes for the purpose. Finding soon

* Camden. Lingard (viii. 204) calls him a "townsman of Burton, known among the parties by the sobriquet of 'the honest man.'"

after that the plot was known or suspected, the conspirators stole out of London, and lurked for some days in St. John's Wood and other places about the city. But they were taken in a short time and put in prison, where they voluntarily made most ample confessions. They were tried, and sentenced to be executed as traitors. On the 20th of September, Ballard, Babington, Savage, and four others were hung in St. Giles's fields. After the ancient manner, they were cut down while still alive and their bowels taken out before their faces; but the queen, when she heard of this cruelty, gave strict orders that the remainder should not be embowelled or quartered till they had hung to be dead.

When the conspirators were arrested, sir Thomas Gorges was sent from court with the tidings to the queen of Scots. She was on her horse ready to go hunting when he arrived. She wished to return to her chamber, but she was not permitted. She was soon after brought back to Chartley, and was then conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she at length reached Fotheringay castle in Northamptonshire (Sept. 26). During her first absence from Chartley, her two secretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were arrested and sent up to London; her cabinets were at the same time broken open, and her extensive correspondence both in England and on the continent was discovered and seized.

Abundant evidence having been now procured against the queen of Scots, the question with the council was how she should be treated. Some were for keeping her in strict confinement, as it was reckoned that she could not live long, her health being in a declining state. But Burleigh and Walsingham knew that while she lived she would never cease to plot the ruin of the queen and the protestant religion; and self-preservation urged them also; for if she were to succeed to the throne, their lives they knew would be the forfeit of their loyalty to their queen. Leicester, who was in Holland, suggested the employment of poison, and sent a di-

vine to Walsingham to justify this course ; but that upright statesman rejected it, protesting against all violence except by sentence of law. It was finally resolved to bring her to trial on the late act, and a commission of forty noblemen, privy counsellors, and judges, of both religions, was appointed to examine and give judgement on her.

On the 11th of October the commissioners came to Fotheringay. Next morning they sent to Mary a letter from the queen, charging her with being accessory to the late conspiracy, and informing her of the commission appointed to try her. She read the letter calmly, denied the charges, and declared that, being an absolute [independent] queen, she would not derogate from her rank by submitting to this trial. The following day, lord Burleigh, and the chancellor, and some others waited on her ; they urged her “ with fair words ” to submit, at the same time assuring her that her refusal would not prevent them from proceeding. She still, however, persisted ; but Hatton’s speech, in which he made her observe that if she was innocent, as she asserted, she wronged her reputation by refusing a trial before honourable upright men, had some effect on her. She offered to answer before the parliament, or the queen in council, provided she were acknowledged next in succession. She at the same time declared that she would never submit to the law named in the commission. Burleigh told her they would nevertheless proceed in the cause next day. “ Examine your consciences,” said she ; “ be tender of your honour : God reward you and yours according to your judgement upon me.”

Next morning (14th) she sent for some of the commissioners, and said that having well weighed Hatton’s reasons she was willing to appear, provided her protest was received. They assented ; the court was prepared ; at one end of the room was placed under a canopy a chair of state for the queen of England ; opposite at some distance stood a chair for the queen of Scots ; the commissioners

sat on benches on each side, the law officers at a table in the centre.

The queen having taken her seat, the chancellor addressed her; she renewed her protest: he replied, and the protest and reply were recorded. The case was then opened by serjeant Gaudy, accusing her of participation in Babington's conspiracy. She denied all knowledge of him or Ballard. Babington's letters to her were then read; she defied them to prove that she had received them; parts of his confession were read, stating the substance of the letters he said he had received from her. Mention occurring in these of Arundel and his brothers, she burst into tears, saying, "Alas! what hath that noble house of the Howards suffered for my sake!" She then said that let Babington have confessed what he might, it was all a flat lie that she had thus written to him. Finally a letter of hers to Babington was produced in which she commended and approved of his plot; she demanded a copy of it, asserted it was a forgery, and hinted at Walsingham as the forger. The secretary rose and defended himself with dignity, and the queen apologised.

In the afternoon the court resumed. A copy of a letter to her from Charles Paget concerning an invasion of England was read; she did not deny it. She was then pressed with the testimonies of her secretaries; Curle she said was an honest man, but he was too pliant to Nau, of whom she did not think so well; they might have inserted things in her letters without her knowledge, and have received letters which they concealed from her. Burleigh then charged her with her intention of having her son carried to Spain, and of conveying her claims to Philip; this she did not deny. The substance of her letters to Englefield, Paget and Mendoza about an invasion in her favour was then read; she said she thought herself justified in so doing, but denied any intention of injuring the queen's life. The court was then adjourned.

Next day (16th) she renewed her protest, which was recorded. Her letters to Paget were again read, in which she recommended the invasion of England and placing her on the throne, and one from Allen in which he addressed her as his sovereign. She again denied all knowledge of Babington's plot, and asserted that he and her secretaries had accused her to save themselves. She finally required to be heard in a full parliament, or by the queen in council. She rose, and when she had conferred apart with Burleigh, Hatton, Walsingham, and lord Warwick, the court was adjourned to the 25th in the star-chamber at Westminster.

It is impossible to read the full account of this remarkable trial without admiring the ability with which Mary sustained the contest against overwhelming evidence, and the ablest men in England. Her great anxiety seems to have been to clear herself from participation in the plot for assassinating Elizabeth; but there was only her simple assertion against the confessions of Babington and her secretaries, and the testimony of her own letter; and unless we suppose that these men uttered needless falsehoods, and that Walsingham, one of the most honourable of statesmen, committed forgery for the sake of destroying her, we cannot give credit to her assertions of innocence*.

On the 25th the commissioners met again; the secretaries Nau and Curle attested on oath the truth and reality of the letters and copies that had been produced; the queen of Scots was then pronounced guilty of all that had been laid to her charge; at the same time a public declaration was made "that the said sentence did nothing dero-

* The following passages occur in her letter to Babington: "The affairs being thus prepared, and forces in readiness both within and without the realm, then shall it be time to set the six gentlemen on work." "Taking good order upon the accomplishment of their discharges, I may be suddenly transported out of this place." "Now for that there can be no certain day appointed for the accomplishment of the said gentlemen's designment I would that they had . . . scout men . . . with good and speedy horses so soon as the design shall be executed to come to advertise me thereof."

gate from James king of Scotland in his title and honour." Parliament met in a few days (29th); they approved and confirmed the sentence against the queen of Scots, and petitioned the queen to have it executed. She replied in most gracious terms and promised to come to a speedy resolution. A few days after she sent advising them to consider the matter anew and try if some way might not be found for preserving the queen of Scots' life without hazarding her own security. Both houses resolved "that there could be found no other sound and assured means." The queen's reply was rather ambiguous. The sentence, however, was published; the citizens forthwith illuminated their houses, the bells of the churches rang out joyful peals, and the same manifestations of the popular feeling were made all over the kingdom.

When this was notified to Mary, and it was added that while she lived the religion of England could not be secure, she gave God thanks, claiming to be regarded as a martyr for the cause of the true church. Paulet now took down her canopy of estate and treated her no longer with the respect due to a royal personage. She wrote (Dec. 19th) to Elizabeth, making three requests, viz. that her remains might be sent to France for interment; that she might not be put to death privately, but in view of her servants and others, who might bear testimony to her faith in Christ and obedience to the church; that her servants might be allowed to depart and retain the legacies she should leave them. To this letter, which was written in a strain so pious and dignified, that it drew tears from the eyes of Elizabeth, she received no answer.

The king of France sent a special ambassador, Bellièvre, to intercede for Mary, but the queen set at nought his menaces and fully replied to his arguments. It is said indeed (but perhaps without sufficient warrant) that Bellièvre had secret instructions to urge the execution of Mary. King James also sent sir William Keith to remonstrate with the queen, and he wrote to her with his own hand in very

strong terms. He afterwards despatched sir Robert Melvill and the master of Gray for the same purpose, but the securities they offered for the queen's safety did not appear sufficient, and Elizabeth despised the menaces of the Scottish king. Gray it is said secretly advised her to carry the sentence into effect, saying *Mortuus non mordet*. James then ordered a prayer to be put up in the churches for his mother, "that it might please God to illuminate her with the light of his truth and save her from the apparent danger with which she was threatened." Yet even this cautious form was rejected, and the royal chaplains alone prayed for the captive queen. This, we should think, is quite sufficient to answer those who blame James for not taking arms in the cause of his mother.

The pride of Elizabeth made her assume a determined tone toward the French and Scottish ambassadors*; but she was in reality quite undecided. Her natural aversion to bloodshed, her respect to the kindred and royal blood of Mary, her apprehension of the catholic powers, and her fear of the judgement which posterity might pass on the deed caused her to hesitate. On the other hand, those about her reiterated the dangers which would environ her while Mary lived; a conspiracy to murder her, in which the French resident Aubespine, a creature of the Guises, was said to be concerned, had been detected or invented; various rumours of the landing of foreign armies in England and of plots to set London on fire and kill the queen were spread; and the whole nation seemed to clamour for the execution of the queen of Scots. Elizabeth became pensive and solitary, and she was frequently heard to sigh and to mutter to herself these words, *Aut fer aut feri* ('Bear or strike'), and *Ne feriare feri* ('Strike lest you be struck').

* "And I spake," writes the master to James, "craving of her that her life may be spared for fifteen days; she refused. Sir Robert craved for only eight days; she said 'Not for an hour', and so geid her away." "She answered in the tone of a lioness who has grasped her prey, 'No, not an hour!'" says sir Walter Scott. It is thus that history gains circumstances in its progress.

The warrant meantime had been drawn out by Burleigh, and on the 1st of February 1587, the queen, who was then at Richmond, sent Howard, the lord admiral, with directions to the secretary Davison to bring it to her*. She signed it, and asked him if he was not heartily sorry to see it done; he replied in terms which pleased her, and she then directed him to take it to the chancellor and have it sealed, and to send it down to the commissioners without delay, and not to trouble her any further on the subject, as she had now done all that could be expected of her. She also directed him to call as he went on Walsingham, who was ill, as "the grief he would feel on learning it would," she merrily added, "nearly kill him outright." She then complained of Paulet and Drury†, who she said might have eased her of this burden, and desired him and Walsingham to write, to sound them.

Davison showed the warrant to Burleigh and Leicester, and at their request went to London without delay. Having seen Walsingham and arranged with him about the letter they were to write, he proceeded to the chancellor, and got the warrant sealed. On his return to Walsingham he found the letter to the two knights ready. It hinted to them the queen's wish that they should put their prisoner secretly to death. They signed it and sent it off that evening. In the morning (2nd) W. Killegrew came to Davison from the queen to say that if he had not been already with the chancellor he should not go till he had seen her again. Davison forthwith repaired to Richmond, and when the queen found that the warrant was sealed she said, "What needeth that haste?" He replied that he had only done what he conceived to be his duty. He then asked her if she continued in her purpose; she said she did, "albeit she thought it might have been better handled, because this course threw the whole burthen on herself." After some

* The succeeding narrative rests on the evidence of Davison, of the truth of which there can be no reasonable doubt.

† Sir Drue Drury had been lately joined in commission with sir Amias Paulet.

further discourse to the same effect she went to dinner. Davison then consulted with Hatton ; they both went to Burleigh, who approved of Davison's intention not to proceed singly in the business, and it was agreed that the case should be laid before the whole council in the morning. Burleigh undertook to write the necessary letters, and Davison gave him the warrant.

Next day (3rd) the council met ; they resolved to take the responsibility on themselves and send off the warrant at once, and in the afternoon they met again, signed the requisite letters to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and despatched Beale the clerk of the council with them. Next morning (4th) Davison waited on the queen ; she told him with a smile that she had dreamt that the queen of Scots was executed, and that she had been greatly incensed with him for it. He said it was well he had not been near her when she was in that humour. He then seriously asked her if she did not intend to go through with it. She said Yes, with a solemn oath, but that "she thought it might have received a better form." Davison expressed his dislike of the course she hinted at ; she told him wiser men than he were of a different opinion, and that it had been suggested to her by "one in great place" (evidently meaning Leicester). She asked him if he had heard yet from Paulet ; he replied in the negative. On his return to London the same day he received a letter from him and Drury containing a flat refusal "to shed blood without law or warrant." When he reported this to the queen (6th) she complained of the "niceness of those precise fellows," adding that she could have done very well without them, as one Wingfield and others would have undertaken it. When Davison next saw her (7th) "she entered of herself," he says, "into some earnest discourse of the danger she lived in, and how it was more than time this matter were despatched, swearing with a great oath that it was a shame for us all that it was not already done, considering that she had for her part done all that law or reason could require

of her, and therefore made some mention to have letters written to sir Amias Paulet for the hastening thereof, because the longer it was deferred the more her danger increased." Davison replied that he thought there was no need, the warrant being "so general and sufficient;" she said, "she thought sir Amias Paulet would look for it," and so broke off the discourse, and Davison saw her no more.

That very day (7th) the two earls with the sheriff of the county came to Fotheringay. They forthwith waited on the unhappy prisoner and bade her prepare for death in the morning. She received the annunciation with the utmost composure, and requested that her almoner might be allowed to visit and prepare her for death. This being a thing unheard of was refused*, but the services of the bishop or dean of Peterborough were proffered, which she of course declined. The earl of Kent in his zeal said, "Your life will be the death of our religion, as your death will be the life of it,"—words of which she artfully took advantage to make out that it was solely for her religion she suffered. She again denied all knowledge of Babington's conspiracy.

When the earls were gone she ordered supper to be prepared. She supped sparingly as usual, and comforted her servants, who could not restrain their tears; she drank to them; they pledged her on their knees; they craved her pardon for any neglect of their duty, and she craved theirs in return. She then looked over her will and the inventory of her goods, and wrote some letters. She went to bed at her usual time, slept some hours, and then rose and spent the remainder of the night in prayer.

In the morning (8th) the queen arrayed herself in her richest clothes. The sheriff entered her chapel, where she and her servants were at prayers, about eight o'clock to summon her. She rose, took her crucifix in one hand and her prayer-book in the other. She gave her blessing to

* There had as yet, we believe, been no instance in any country of such a request being complied with.

her servants, who were not allowed to follow her. The door closed ; she was joined by the earls and her keepers, and descended the staircase. At the foot Melvill her steward met her, and bursting into tears lamented that he should be the bearer of such sorrowful tidings to Scotland. She bade him to rejoice rather than lament, as the end of her troubles was arrived, and to report that she died true to her religion, to Scotland and to France. "He that is the true judge of all secret thoughts," she added, "knoweth my mind, how that ever it hath been my desire to have Scotland and England united together. Commend me to my son, and tell him that I have not done anything that may prejudice his kingdom of Scotland. And so, good Melvill, farewell!" She kissed him and bade him pray for her. The earl of Kent reluctantly assented to her request that two of her maids and four of her men might attend her. The procession then entered the hall, Melvill bearing the queen's train. The hall was filled with spectators, and there stood in it a scaffold two feet high covered with black. Paulet aided her to ascend it. She seated herself on a stool ; the warrant was read out ; she replied asserting the injustice of her sentence and denying all intention of injuring the queen. The dean of Peterborough then commenced a most ill-timed and even cruel address to her. She desired him not to trouble himself as she was determined to die in the faith in which she had been reared. The earls then directed him to pray ; the spectators joined in the prayer ; but Mary holding out the crucifix prayed in Latin with her servants out of the office of the Virgin. "Madam," said the earl of Kent, "settle Jesus Christ in your heart, and leave those trumperies." She took no heed, but continued her prayers. Her women then began to disrobe her ; the executioners went to assist ; she said she was not used to employ such grooms or to strip before so numerous an assembly. When she was stript her women began to lament aloud. She reminded them of her promise and crossed and kissed them, bidding them

rejoice and not to weep, as they would now see the end of her troubles. She then crossed her men-servants also, bidding them farewell. She sat down again, and one of her maids fastened a Corpus Christi cloth over her face; she was led to the block; she knelt down, saying several times, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Her head was severed at the second stroke; the executioner held it up streaming with blood. "So perish all the queen's enemies!" cried the dean. "Such end of all the queen's and the Gospel's enemies!" said the earl of Kent standing over the body. All the rest were silent from pity or from horror.

Such was the end of the unfortunate Mary Stuart. Her conduct in the closing scene of her life was calm, pious and dignified; yet when we reflect on the crimes of which she must have been conscious, we could wish that she had shown more of the penitent and less of the saint and martyr on this awful occasion. How different was her behaviour from that of the pure and innocent Jane Gray! The mind of Mary however had probably been so perverted by religion and example, that she looked on the murder of her husband as laudable revenge, and thought herself fully justified by natural law and religion (for which indeed she had the authority and example of the head of her church) in conspiring against the life of Elizabeth, a heretic and her political antagonist.

At the time of her execution Mary was in the forty-sixth year of her age. She had long suffered from rheumatism, and had lost the beauty for which she is celebrated. She is described by an eye-witness as "being of stature tall, of body corpulent, round-shouldered, her face fat and broad, double-chinned, with hazel eyes and borrowed hair." Her own hair is said to have been "as grey as one of three-score and ten years old."

Whatever the wishes or suspicions of Elizabeth may have been, there seem to be no grounds for supposing that she actually knew of the warrant having been sent. According

to Davison, when the intelligence of the execution arrived on the evening of the 8th, Burleigh and the other councillors thought it best not to tell her as yet. She heard it however, he says, from some other quarter, and testified neither feeling nor displeasure. But in the morning when the event was officially announced to her she showed every symptom of grief and indignation. She shed tears; her voice was broken by sighs; she drove her councillors from her presence with reproaches; she put herself and her whole court in mourning. Davison was committed to the Tower and then brought before the Star Chamber, where he was sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000 marks and be imprisoned during pleasure, for contempt of the queen's majesty, breach of his allegiance, and neglect of his duty in acquainting the council with the warrant and having it executed without her knowledge. The fine, which reduced him to beggary, was rigorously exacted, and the queen would never restore him to favour. Leicester and Hatton felt her displeasure also; even Burleigh was treated with such harshness that he craved permission to resign his offices and retire. It was only after making the humblest submissions that he succeeded in mollifying his incensed sovereign.

Though we do not regard the conduct of Elizabeth throughout this unhappy affair as being that vile tissue of hypocrisy it is generally styled, there certainly was in it much of which we cannot approve. It would have been, no doubt, the more generous course, though perhaps not the safer, to have spared Mary's life, yet we cannot deem it unjust to punish her capitally when she conspired against the life of a princess to whose throne she never ceased to lay claim*. But Elizabeth should have proceeded openly; she should not have thought of emulating the examples of private execution given by her ancestors; or have attempt-

* See Hallam (i. 215). It has been observed that the detention of Napoleon in 1815 is a case nearly parallel to that of Mary. Had he been kept in England, and had he there engaged in conspiracies against the life of the king, he also might, perhaps, have been executed.

ed to shift the responsibility to others. She certainly deceived Davison to his ruin, and would have ruined Paulet and Drury also but for their own sense of religion and honour. Her memory has paid the penalty; the execution of the queen of Scots, with all her crimes, remains a stain on the fair fame of Elizabeth.

CHAPTER XII.

ELIZABETH (CONTINUED).

1587—1603.

Conduct of the kings of Scotland and France.—Philip prepares to invade England.—Preparations for defence.—The Invincible Armada.—Death and character of Leicester.—Affairs of France.—Naval enterprises.—Taking of Cadiz.—State of Ireland.—Essex sent thither.—His return, insurrection and death.—The queen's last illness and death.—Her character.—Measures of her reign.—State of England under the Tudors.

THE king of Scots, when he heard of the execution of his mother, naturally expressed much indignation, and his language breathed revenge. But Elizabeth wrote to him with her own hand exculpating herself. Leicester also wrote to him, and Walsingham to his secretary Maitland, pointing out the folly and hazard of violent measures, and James allowed himself to be convinced and pacified. Nor is he to be blamed. He could have little affection for a mother whom he never knew, and who in her popish bigotry had proposed to give him as a hostage to the pope or king of Spain, and in her will had disinherited him in favour of the latter, unless he renounced his religion and became a catholic. He also well knew that his people would not support him in a war with Elizabeth and that he might thereby lose all chance of the crown of England. The king of France viewed with secret satisfaction this diminution of the power of the house of Guise. Philip of Spain was therefore the only prince, who under pretence of avenging Mary might turn his arms against Elizabeth.

The queen, having ascertained that Philip was preparing a fleet for the invasion of England, sent out Drake to endeavour to destroy his shipping. He entered the port of Cadiz, where he burned one hundred vessels laden with

stores and ammunition ; he thence sailed to Cape St. Vincent and took the castle and three other fortresses ; then proceeding to the Azores he lay in wait for and captured the St. Philip, a richly-laden carrack. These losses caused the intended invasion to be deferred for a year, and their success inspired the English seamen with contempt for the Spaniards and their huge unwieldy ships. In Holland affairs were not so favourable. Sir William Stanley, a catholic, to whom Leicester had entrusted the defence of Deventer with a garrison of twelve hundred English, betrayed it to the Spaniards, and he and his men entered their service. His example was followed by an officer named York who commanded a fort near Zutphen. Leicester himself on his return failed in an attempt to relieve Sluys ; the ill-feeling between him and the States increased daily ; *they* suspected him of a design on their liberties, slighted his authority, and thwarted his plans ; *he* was imperious and violent. At length the queen deemed it advisable to remove him from a situation for which he was manifestly unfit. The States elected Maurice, son of the late prince of Orange, governor in his stead, and the command of the English troops was given to lord Willoughby.

This year also the office of chancellor becoming vacant the queen raised to that high dignity sir Christopher Hatton, the vice-chamberlain. The lawyers sneered at the appointment ; but the court of chancery was not then what it has since become ; Hatton had good sense and honesty, and with the aid of two sergeants-at-law he discharged the duties of his office in such a manner as gave general satisfaction.

Though there had been no actual declaration of war between Spain and England, each party had for many years been injuring the other. Elizabeth aided the Dutch and countenanced the expeditions of Drake and other adventurers ; Philip excited rebellion in Ireland, promoted conspiracies against the life and authority of Elizabeth in England, and was preparing to invade it in favour of the queen

of Scots. After the death of that princess he resolved to put forth his own claim to the crown as the descendant of John of Gaunt ; the pope Sixtus V. at his desire renewed the bull of his predecessor Pius V. and raised Allen to the dignity of cardinal, that, like Pole, he might proceed as legate to England when it should be conquered. The new cardinal forthwith published an "Admonition" addressed to the nobility of England, full of the grossest falsehoods and vilest calumnies of the queen, and composed in the vituperative style then familiar to the Romish writers*. The wealth of the Indies was devoted by Philip to the building of ships and the purchase of stores, and in the spring of 1588 a fleet of one hundred and thirty-five ships of war, galleys, galleasses, and galleons†, from the different ports of his Spanish and Italian dominions rendezvoused in the Tagus. The prince of Parma meantime had ships and boats collected and built in the ports of the Netherlands for transporting a veteran force of thirty thousand men to the coast of England. It had been the advice of this able officer that Flushing should be first reduced to assure the fleet of a retreat in case of accident, but Philip would hear of no delay.

While these immense preparations for her overthrow were being made, the prince of Parma was amusing Elizabeth with a negotiation for terminating all differences. But the means of resistance were meantime not neglected ; all the men from sixteen to sixty were enrolled and trained by the lords-lieutenant of counties, who were directed to appoint officers and provide arms ; one army of thirty-six thousand men under lord Huntsdon was to be assembled for the guard of the royal person ; another of thirty thousand men under Leicester was to be stationed at Tilbury

* Dr. Lingard (viii. 442) has favoured us with an analysis of "this most offensive publication" as he has the candour to term it.

† The *galley* was a vessel impelled with oars ; it carried cannon on the poop and stern : the *galleasse* was a larger galley with cannon also between the oars : the *galleon* was a large ship of war with cannon on the sides, poop, and stern. See Lingard, viii. 272.

to protect the city. The seaports were required to supply shipping according to their means. On this occasion the city of London set a noble example; being called upon to furnish five thousand men and fifteen ships, the citizens voluntarily pledged themselves to send double the number of each. The royal navy consisted of but thirty-four ships, but many noblemen fitted out vessels at their own expense, and the whole fleet numbered one hundred and eighty-one ships of all kinds, manned by 17,472 seamen. The chief command was entrusted to Howard of Effingham, lord high admiral of England; the three distinguished seamen, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, held commands under him. The main fleet was stationed at Plymouth; a squadron of forty ships under lord Henry Seymour lay off Dunkirk to watch the motions of the prince of Parma.

The protestants of Europe naturally regarded with intense interest the approach of the contest which was probably to decide the fate of their religion; but the Dutch alone aided the queen in her struggle. The king of Scotland, though his interests were nearly as much involved in the contest as those of Elizabeth, hesitated till he had extorted most advantageous terms from Ashby, the English resident*. The king of France was little inclined, even if able, to aid the ambitious projects of Philip though cloaked with zeal for religion, but the Guises prepared a body of their adherents to join in the invasion. Her own catholic subjects caused Elizabeth most apprehension†; her council were well aware of their readiness to rise in favour of Mary when she was living, and it was feared that their zeal for their religion might prove too strong for their national feeling. Some even advised to seize and put the leading

* He made the treaty on the 4th of August. The danger was then over, but he could not have known it.

† Dr. Lingard says the catholics were one half of the population; Allen had said two-thirds. Cardinal Bentivoglio considered the real catholics to be but a thirtieth. (Hallam, i. 239.) Those who, like Lingard, exaggerate the number of the catholics ought to perceive that they thus in a great measure justify the severities of the government toward them.

catholics to death, but the queen rejected this expedient with horror, and contented herself with confining a few of the most suspected at Wisbeach in the fens of Ely. The catholics to their honour justified her confidence in them; their nobles armed their tenantry in her service, and some fitted out vessels, giving the command to protestants.

At length (May 29) the Invincible Armada (*Fleet*), as it was proudly styled, sailed from the Tagus. It consisted of 130 ships, carrying 19,000 soldiers, 8000 seamen, and 2000 galley slaves, and 2630 pieces of cannon; its commander was the duke of Medina Sidonia, aided by Juan de Recalde, a distinguished seaman. It also carried a corps of one hundred and eighty monks and friars of the different orders for the conversion of the heretics, and a supply of arms for the disaffected catholics. Off the coast of Galicia it experienced a tempest, which obliged the admiral to remain for some time at Corunna to refit. When the news reached England, the queen, thinking the danger over for the year, sent word to the admiral to lay up the four largest ships, but he wrote requesting to be allowed to keep them even at his own expense. He sailed toward Spain, but finding the wind changed to the south, he returned with all speed to Plymouth lest the enemy should arrive before him. On the 12th of July the Armada put to sea, and on the 19th it was off the Lizard point in Cornwall, where it was seen by Flemming, a Scottish pirate, who hastened to Plymouth with the tidings. The admiral got his fleet out to sea, though with great difficulty, as the wind blew strong into the port.

The instructions of the Spanish admiral were to avoid hostilities till he had seen the army of the prince of Parma safely landed in England; he therefore rejected the advice of his captains to attack the English fleet, and the armada proceeded up channel in the form of a crescent, of which the horns were seven miles asunder. The motion of this fleet, the greatest that had ever ploughed the ocean, was slow though every sail was spread, "the winds," says Cam-

den, "being as it were tired with carrying them, and the ocean groaning under their weight." The plan adopted by the English admiral was to follow the armada and harass it, and cut off stragglers. During six days which it took the Spaniards to reach Calais the annoyance was incessant, and several of their ships were taken or disabled, the superior seamanship of the English, and the agility and low build of their ships giving them great advantage over the unwieldy galleons and galleasses. At length (27th) the armada cast anchor near Calais, and the admiral sent off to the prince of Parma, requiring him to embark his troops without delay. But this it was not in his power now to do; his stores were not yet prepared, his sailors had run away, and the Dutch blockaded the harbours of Dunkirk and Newport. The armada itself narrowly escaped destruction: on the night of the 29th the English sent eight fire-ships into it; the Spaniards in terror cut their cables; the English fell on them in the morning when they were dispersed and took two galleons, and the following day (31st) a storm came on and drove them among the shoals and sands of Zeeland. Here in a council of war it was decided, as the navy was now in too shattered a condition to effect anything, to return to Spain without delay. But the passage down the channel was so full of hazard that it was resolved in preference to sail round Scotland and Ireland, dangerous as that course appeared. The armada set sail; the English pursued as far as Flamborough Head, where want of ammunition forced them to give over the chase. Storms assailed the armada in its progress; several ships were cast away on the west and south coast of Ireland, where the crews were butchered by the barbarous natives or put to the sword by orders of the lord-deputy. The total loss was thirty large ships and about ten thousand men. Philip received the intelligence with great equanimity, ordered public thanks to God and the Saints that the calamity was not greater, and sent money to be distributed among the surviving crews.

The queen of England had shown throughout the spirit of a heroine. She visited the camp at Tilbury (Aug. 9), rode along the lines on a white palfrey with a truncheon in her hand, and animated the soldiers by her inspiring language*. When the danger was over she went in state to St. Paul's to return thanks to Heaven. She then granted pensions to the disabled seamen; she bestowed her favours on the admiral† and his officers, and she had actually caused a warrant to be prepared appointing Leicester to the office of lord lieutenant of England and Ireland; but the influence of Burleigh and Walsingham prevented her from signing it, and as Leicester was on his way to Kenilworth after disbanding his army, he fell sick on the road and died at Cornbury Park in Oxfordshire (Sept. 4). The queen lamented him, but she caused his goods to be seized for payment of his debts to the crown.

There is no character in history more enigmatic than that of Leicester. On the one hand, we find him for a space of thirty years retaining the favour of one of the most sagacious and penetrating of princesses, (though he had enemies enough who would gladly reveal to her anything to his disadvantage,) and also held in esteem by some of the most virtuous men of the time, and by the rigid sect of the puritans. On the other hand, he is portrayed to us as stained with every vice, a hypocrite, a tyrant, an adulterer, a poisoner by wholesale; in short, a monster, unredeemed by a single virtue. This last portrait, however, which cannot be correct, appears in the most suspicious quarter, namely, a book called "Leicester's Commonwealth," written by the jesuit Persons. The charges there made against him are in fact so atrocious as totally to destroy their credibility.

* Lingard in his usual sneering manner endeavours to cast an air of ridicule over the whole scene. The speech ascribed to her could not, he says, have been spoken at Tilbury as the danger was over. The letter of Drake to Walsingham (Hardwick Papers, i. 586) written the next day (Aug. 10) will show that the danger was by no means *thought* to be over.

† Some time after she raised him to the dignity of earl of Nottingham.

Leicester's in truth, seems, like all others, to have been a mixed character. He was a zealous friend, and a faithful observer of his promise ; he was generous, and as a statesman sufficiently acute, and we have no right to assume that he was not sincere in his religious profession. At the same time he was insolent, rapacious, and tyrannical, and in his younger days very licentious in his conduct with the other sex. It is, however, mere calumny to accuse the queen of any improper familiarity with him. They had been intimate from childhood ; and this circumstance, joined with his personal beauty and his mental powers, will perhaps adequately account for her early and continued partiality*.

A strong desire of taking vengeance on Spain now animated the nation ; and the following spring, (1589,) Drake and Norris, joined by a number of other gentlemen, obtained the queen's permission to fit out, at their own expense, an armament, of which the chief object was to attempt to place Don Antonio, prior of Crato, on the throne of Portugal. They took and plundered the suburb of Corunna, and the shipping in the harbour. They thence proceeded to Lisbon ; but as the people showed no inclination to rise in favour of Don Antonio, and disease and want of supplies were felt, they put to sea again. On their way home they took and burned the town of Vigo. Though the expedition had been little more than two months out of England, such had been the ravages of disease, that one half of the troops had perished ; out of eleven hundred gentlemen who embarked, but three hundred and fifty returned.

Among those who took a part in this unlucky expedition

* In 1566 he said to La Forest, the French ambassador, " I really believe that the queen will never marry. *I have known her since she was eight years of age better than any man in the world.* From that time she has always invariably declared that she would remain unmarried. Should she, however, happen to resolve on marrying and to choose an Englishman, I am almost convinced that her choice would fall on no other than me ; at least the queen has done me the honour several times to tell me so alone, and I am now as high in her favour as ever." Raumer, Elizabeth and Mary, p. 40.

was Robert Devereux earl of Essex, a young nobleman, with whom, in chivalrous daring, united with a manly, liberal, generous spirit, few in that age could compare. He had been recommended to the notice of the queen by his step-father Leicester; and his noble qualities caused him speedily to rise in her estimation, and to occupy after Leicester's death the place in her affections so long held by that favourite. Hopeless of obtaining the permission of the queen to his exposure of himself to the perils of the expedition, Essex had stolen away from court, embarked secretly, and joined the fleet off the coast of Portugal.

Confusion at this time prevailed more than ever in France. The cowardly treacherous Henry III. had caused the duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal to be murdered; he himself perished soon after by the dagger of a fanatical monk, and the king of Navarre, being the next heir, assumed the title of Henry IV. But the bigoted catholic party, excited by Philip II., refused to acknowledge an heretical sovereign; they set up the cardinal of Bourbon against him, and the war continued to rage with its wonted animosity. Elizabeth aided Henry with both money and men; the English troops, led by sir John Norris, the gallant earl of Essex, and other brave officers, distinguished themselves on all occasions. Henry, however, after continuing the contest for nearly three years, found that unless he conformed to the religion of the great majority of his subjects he had little chance of ultimate success. He therefore (1593) declared himself a catholic, and gradually the whole kingdom submitted to him. Elizabeth, though grieved at this change of faith, felt it her interest to maintain the alliance she had formed; and her troops aided in the reduction of such places as still held out against him. Against Spain the naval warfare was still kept up, and the earl of Cumberland, sir Martin Frobisher, and Thomas White did much injury to the Spanish trade. The English at this time also first made their way to the East Indies. Two vessels, commanded by George Riman and

James Lancaster, doubled the Cape of Good Hope. Riman perished off the east coast of Africa; but Lancaster proceeded, and, after enduring many hardships and losing the greater part of his men, returned to England.

The year 1590 was distinguished by the deaths of the able and disinterested secretary Walsingham; of Thomas Randolph, who had been on thirteen embassies to Scotland, three to Russia, and two to France; of sir James Crofts, and of the earl of Shrewsbury, earl-marshal of England. The following year the chancellor Hatton died. The generous Essex endeavoured to procure Walsingham's office for the unfortunate Davison; but the queen's resentment against him was too strong, and Burleigh, as a means of bringing forward his son sir Robert Cecil, took the duties of the office on himself. The great seal was committed to serjeant Puckering, under the title of lord-keeper.

In 1594, Richard, son of sir John Hawkins, sailed to the South Sea; but he was made a prisoner on the coast of Chili and sent to Spain. The same year James Lancaster was furnished with three vessels by the merchants of London; he captured thirty-nine ships of the enemy, and took and plundered the town of Pernambuco, on the coast of Brazil. The next year (1595) the able and enterprising sir Walter Raleigh set forth in search of fortune to America. He had seduced one of the maids of honour, (to whom, however, he made reparation by marriage,) for which offence the queen threw him into prison; she restored him some time after to liberty, but not to favour; and his enterprising spirit, unable to endure inactivity and thirsting for wealth, urged him to attempt the discovery of those stores of the precious metals, far exceeding all that Peru and Mexico had yielded, which fame said lay in the region of Guiana in South America. He sailed from Plymouth, (Feb. 6,) took a small town in the isle of Trinidad, and leaving his ships there went in his boats for four hundred miles up the river Orinoco. But the city of El Dorado which he sought was not to be found, and the fall of the

rains prevented his further progress. On his return to England he published a very interesting narrative of his voyage*.

At this time also Drake, Hawkins, and sir Thomas Baskerville sailed with twenty-six ships and a body of troops to America. They failed in an attempt on Puerto Rico in Cuba. Hawkins died soon after, and Drake, having vainly attempted to cross the isthmus to Panama, put to sea again. He died soon after of the dysentery; and Baskerville, after a smart action with a Spanish fleet off Cuba, returned to England.

Philip had by no means abandoned his designs upon England; he even listened seriously to the chimerical project of some English jesuits and exiles for placing his daughter the infanta of Spain on the throne of that country, as being the nearest catholic descendant of John of Gaunt, he himself resigning his pretensions in her favour. His preparations being known, the queen gave her consent to the proposal of Essex to attack him in his own dominions. A fleet of one hundred and fifty vessels, of various sizes, English and Dutch, carrying fourteen thousand men, of whom fifteen hundred were gentlemen volunteers, commanded by the lord admiral Howard, Essex, Sir Thomas Howard, Raleigh, Vere, Carew, and Clifford, sailed from Plymouth, (June 1, 1596,) and proceeded to Cadiz. On reaching that port (20th) they saw in it fifteen men of war and forty merchantmen. It was proposed to attack the men-of-war: the cautious admiral hesitated; at length he gave way, at which Essex was so elated, that, regardless of decorum, he flung his hat up into the air. The action lasted for six hours; the enemy then attempted to run his ships ashore, but three of them were taken and about the same number burnt. Essex then landed six hundred men, and advanced against the town; he drove off the troops that

* "Full," says Hume, "of the grossest and most palpable lies." We request the reader to peruse the narrative itself in Cayley's Life of Raleigh. He will there see how little Hume's assertions are to be relied on.

opposed him, and entered the town along with them ; the admiral had by this time landed his men, and forced his way in. No further resistance was made ; the inhabitants agreed to pay a ransom of 120,000 crowns for their lives : all the property in the town became the prize of the victors. It was a part of the instructions given by the queen, "that they should spare the women, and those that were very young, or else decrepit, and put none to the sword but such as made opposition." These instructions were religiously obeyed : the nuns and other women, to the number of three thousand, were conveyed under an escort to the port of St. Mary, being allowed to take with them their clothes and jewels. A ransom being refused for the merchantmen, the duke of Medina Sidonia ordered them to be burnt. The entire loss sustained by the king of Spain was estimated at twenty millions of ducats. The secret of his domestic weakness was revealed to the world, and the union of valour and humanity displayed by the English exalted them in all men's estimation.

The daring Essex wished to retain the town and endeavour to rouse the Moriscoes of Andalusia to insurrection ; but his more cautious colleagues refused their consent ; the men too were eager to get home with their plunder. The town therefore, with the exception of the churches, was burnt, and the fleet returned to England, having been but ten weeks absent.

Philip, undismayed by his reverses, began to assemble a new fleet for the invasion of Ireland. Elizabeth consented that another expedition against Spain should be fitted out, in which Essex should have the chief command, with Raleigh and Sir T. Howard for his seconds. It consisted of one hundred and forty ships carrying eight thousand soldiers. It sailed from Plymouth (July 9, 1597), but a tempest shattered it, and before it could be refitted it was found that the provisions had nearly run out. The attack on Spain was therefore deferred for the present, and Essex proceeded to the Azores to intercept the Indian fleet. He

had informed his officers that it was his intention to take the isle of Fayal; the fleet happened to separate, and Raleigh and his division arriving first at that isle, he landed and took it. Essex was highly offended; he put Sydney and some other officers under arrest; but when advised to bring Raleigh to a court martial, he nobly replied, "I would had he been one of my friends." He soon, however, laid aside his anger and restored them all to favour. The Spanish fleet, owing it is said to Essex's want of seamanship, escaped into port. Three vessels however were captured, which sufficed to pay the charges of the expedition. Essex was some time after his return raised to the dignity of earl-marshal, and sir Robert Cecil and he became better friends than they had previously been.

An opportunity for peace with Spain now presented itself (1599). Henry of France, finding tranquillity absolutely requisite for his kingdom, entered into negotiations with Philip for that purpose. It was hoped that a general pacification might be effected; but as Philip refused to treat with the Dutch as a free state, and Elizabeth would not abandon them, Henry was obliged to conclude a separate peace.

In the English council the Cecils were for peace, Essex was vehement for continuing the war. It is said that in one of the debates the aged lord treasurer took a prayer book and pointed out these words of the Psalmist to Essex, "Men of blood shall not live out half their days,"—words afterwards regarded as prophetic. Soon after the question of appointing a deputy for Ireland was discussed in presence of the queen. She herself wished to appoint Essex's uncle sir William Knolles, while Essex was strenuous in favour of sir George Carew. In the heat of the argument he so far forgot himself as to turn his back on the queen in a kind of contempt. She gave him a box on the ear and told him to go to the d—l; he clapt his hand on his sword, swore he would not put up with such an affront even from Henry VIII. himself, and left the court in a passion.

The coolness between the queen and her capricious favourite lasted for about five months, at the end of which time he reappeared at court. It was thought, however, that he never regained his former place in her heart.

During this temporary disgrace of Essex, the great lord Burleigh died, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years, leaving a character for prudence, integrity, loyalty and patriotism rarely attained by statesmen. The queen, attached to him from a deep sense of his virtues and merits, shed many tears at his death, and she never after could think of him or hear his name pronounced without being affected.

The condition of Ireland now claims our attention. This unhappy country still remained in its pristine barbarism; the descendants of the English conquerors had sunk nearly to a level with the original natives, while the distinction of race was maintained only as a source of evil. The Reformation proved, like everything else, a root of bitterness to Ireland. Compulsion not persuasion was employed to bring the people to a purer faith; the barbarous Irish and many of the degenerate English clung the closer for it to their old superstition; the courts of the Vatican and Madrid took advantage of this feeling. Sanders and other bigots were sent thither to stir up rebellion; and many of the native Irish by serving in the Spanish armies acquired the skill and discipline requisite for opposing the regular armies of England. Throughout the whole reign of Elizabeth warfare more or less active prevailed in Ireland. Fitzmaurice earl of Desmond, who ruled in barbaric state over a large portion of Munster, was by the arts of Sanders and others precipitated into a rebellion, which ended in the ruin of himself and his family and the confiscation of his immense estates (1583). Hugh O'Nial, whom the queen had raised to the dignity of earl of Tirone, was now the most formidable opponent of the English government. He had cast off his allegiance, united the northern Irish under himself, and was supplied with arms and ammunition from Spain. Intelligence now arrived of his having

defeated and slain sir Henry Bagnal and fifteen hundred men. It was proposed in the council to send lord Mountjoy thither as chief governor; but Essex strenuously opposed this appointment, and in the description which he gave of the kind of person who should be sent he drew his own portrait so accurately that it was plain to all what his object was. Cecil, Raleigh and his other enemies gladly seized on the occasion of removing him from court. The new title of Lord Lieutenant was conferred on him, and he left London in March amid the acclamations of the people, and accompanied by a gallant train of nobles and gentlemen. The forces placed at his disposal amounted to eighteen thousand men.

Instead of marching against Tirone at once, Essex, at the persuasion of some of the Irish council, who wished to secure their estates in Munster, led his forces thither. Here he passed the better part of the summer, and though the natives made little resistance his army melted away by disease and desertion. On his return to Dublin he was obliged to write to the English council for two thousand additional troops; yet even when these arrived he found that from desertion and other causes he could lead but four thousand men against O'Nial. He therefore listened to a proposal of that chief for a conference. They met on the opposite banks of a stream; a truce till the following May was agreed on, and Essex engaged to transmit to England the demands of O'Nial, which were too high ever to be granted.

Though Essex had received orders not to leave Ireland, he resolved to anticipate his enemies, who he was conscious had now a fair opportunity of injuring him in the royal mind, and on the morning of Michaelmas eve the queen saw him enter her chamber before she had finished dressing and throw himself on his knees before her. Taken thus by surprise, she gave him her hand to kiss. He retired in high spirits, and was heard to thank God, that though he had met with many storms abroad he had found a sweet

calm at home. Before the day ended, however, the calm turned to a storm*; the queen, who would not have her authority infringed, ordered him to confine himself to his room, and in a few days committed him to the custody of the lord keeper Egerton. Anxiety of mind brought on him an attack of illness: Elizabeth, who really loved him, sent him some broth from her own table, and with tears in her eyes desired the physician to tell him, that were it not for her honour, she would visit him herself.

After his recovery he was allowed to retire to his own house, where, in the society of his countess, the accomplished daughter of Walsingham and widow of sir Philip Sidney, he devoted himself to literature, the study of which he had never neglected. The accounts of the success of Mountjoy, who had succeeded him in Ireland, and the injudicious expressions of the popular feelings in his favour, gave strength to the arguments of his enemies, and the queen directed that he should be examined before the privy council. He made no defence, throwing himself in a strain of affecting eloquence on the queen's mercy. The sentence passed was that he should not exercise any of his offices, and should confine himself to his own house. He behaved with the greatest humility and submission, and would probably have recovered his former state of favour had not a slight circumstance occurred which caused his ruin.

A monopoly of sweet wines had been given to Essex for a term which now expired. On his application for a renewal, the queen refused, saying she must first learn its value, and that an unruly beast must be stinted in its provender. Essex now fancied there was a settled design to ruin him; he began to give ear to the evil suggestions of his secretary Cuffe and others who recommended violent

* "When I did come into her presence," says Harrington, "she chafed much, walked fastly to and fro, looked with discomposure on her visage, and I remember she caught my girdle when I kneeled to her, and swore 'By God's Son I am no queen; that *man* is above me. Who gave him command to come here so soon? I did send him on other business.'"

courses; he increased the number of his dependents; he took the opinions of some divines on the lawfulness of using force against a sovereign. Some of the more zealous puritan clergy (a party which, like Leicester, he always favoured) recommended his cause to the citizens in their lectures. He even opened a correspondence with the king of Scots, assuring him that Cecil and the other ministers were in favour of the Infanta, and advising him to assert his right to the succession, in which he offered to support him with his life and fortune. In his imprudence he could not refrain from using disparaging language of the queen, such as saying "she was now grown an old woman, and was as crooked in mind as in body." All this was conveyed to the queen's ear by his enemies among the court ladies.

Drury-house, the residence of the earl of Southampton, was the place where the principal malcontents used to meet; but Essex himself never was present. Plans were formed for seizing the palace and obliging the queen to dismiss his enemies and alter her mode of governing. The suspicions of the ministers were awaked, and Essex was summoned before the council (Feb. 7, 1601). He feigned illness; in the night his friends resorted to him, and as next day was Sunday and the chief citizens would be assembled according to custom at Paul's Cross, it was resolved to try to induce them to follow him to the palace.

In the morning the lord-keeper and some others were sent to Essex-house. They were admitted through the wicket but their attendants were excluded, and after some altercation they were confined in one of the rooms. Essex then issued forth at the head of about eighty knights and gentlemen; on the way to the city he was joined by about two hundred others, but on reaching St. Paul's he found no one there. He advanced, shouting, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" but few noticed him. Soon after the lords Burleigh and Cumberland entered the city proclaiming him a traitor; he attempted to

return home, but was repulsed by the guard at Ludgate; he then entered a boat at Queenhithe and returned by water. He found his prisoners gone; soldiers began to surround the house; cannon were brought from the Tower; lord Sands advised a sally sword in hand, but Essex did not yet despair, and he surrendered on the promise of a fair trial.

Essex and Southampton were brought to trial on the 19th before a jury of twenty-five peers. As some of them were his personal enemies, he claimed a right to challenge them, but this right was denied by the judges. The facts were easily proved, but Essex denied all intention of injuring the queen. They were found guilty. Essex said, that for himself he should neither solicit nor refuse mercy, but he hoped the life of his friend would be spared, who had only acted from affection to *him*. Southampton threw himself immediately on the mercy of the queen.

In prison Essex was attended by Ashton, his favourite divine, who awoke in his bosom such a degree of spiritual terror and remorse, that he made a most ample confession, disclosing the secrets of his friends and even aggravating the guilt into which their regard for him had led them. He requested, it is said, to be executed within the walls of the Tower. The conflict of passions usual to the queen's bosom on such occasions now took place. She signed the warrant; she countermanded it; she at length suffered the execution to take place.

On the 25th of February, at eight in the morning, Essex was led to the scaffold. He behaved with great piety and resignation, acknowledging the justice of his sentence, and calling his offence "a great sin, a bloody sin, a crying and infectious sin." The first blow of the axe deprived him of sense and motion; at the third the head was separated from his body; and thus in only his thirty-fourth year was terminated the mortal existence of the gallant, honourable, upright earl of Essex, a man too frank, open and candid, to be able long to maintain himself against such wily and

artful opponents as Raleigh and Cecil, and too headstrong, imprudent, petulant, and arrogant to avoid offending his affectionate but haughty mistress.

The life of Southampton was spared, but Essex's step-father sir Christopher Blount, his secretary Cuffe, and his steward Merrick were executed.

The only event of much importance in the remainder of the queen's reign was the reduction of Tirone and the other Irish chiefs by the deputy Mountjoy (1602). The king of Spain had sent a body of six thousand men to their aid under Juan d' Aguilar and Alfonso O'Campo, but these generals were obliged to capitulate to the lord-deputy at Kinsale and Baltimore.

The brilliant career of Elizabeth was now drawing to its close. By her great temperance she had enjoyed good health and spirits through a long life. In the spring of 1602, when the duke of Nevers was entertained by her at Richmond, she opened the ball with him in a gaillarde, which she danced with grace and spirit; and in the autumn she made her annual progress, riding out to view the sports of the field and having dancing in her privy chamber. But gradually her spirits sank, and she became silent and melancholy. The memory of Essex, the gallant and upright, whom she had been forced to sacrifice, augmented her dejection; and the visible decrease of her popularity in consequence of it added to her pain. But in fact nature was giving way, and life had ceased to yield enjoyment.

Toward the end of January (1603) though she had a cold she removed on a wet and stormy day to Richmond. She there grew worse, but she would not attend to the advice of her physicians. The death of her relative and friend the countess of Nottingham* soon after occurred,

* The well-known story of the ring—given by the queen to Essex, and which he sent to her by the countess of Nottingham, who by Cecil's advice did not deliver it—rests on the authority of Aubrey and Osborne, and is generally regarded as apocryphal.

which afflicted her greatly. She drooped daily; her sighs* and tears were frequent. On the 10th of March she fell into a stupor and lay some time for dead. When she recovered she had cushions brought for her to lie on; for she would not go to bed, being persuaded that if she did she should never leave it. She thus continued for ten days refusing both food and medicine. The prelates who were about her urged her to provide for her spiritual safety and recommend her soul to God. She mildly replied, "That I have done long ago." The lord admiral, who had most influence over her, at length got her to bed, partly by entreaty, partly by force. On the morning of the 23rd the lord-admiral, the lord-keeper, and secretary Cecil asked her whom she would wish to succeed; she replied, "My seat has been the seat of kings; I will have no rascal's son, but a king†." When asked to explain she said, "Who should that be but our cousin of Scotland?" During the day she became speechless. In the afternoon, when the primate and the other prelates had left her, the councillors returned, and Cecil asked her if she still continued in her resolution, "whereat suddenly heaving herself upwards in her bed and pulling her arms out of bed she held her hands jointly over her head in form of a crown." At six in the evening she made signs for the archbishop and her chaplains. The primate examined her of her faith; she replied by signs; he prayed at her desire till it was late in the night. He then retired, and at the hour of three in the morning the queen gently yielded up her spirit. At ten o'clock king James was proclaimed.

This great queen had nearly attained the age of seventy years, during forty-five of which she had occupied the throne. When we look back on the dangers she sur-

* "In all my lifetime before," says lord Monmouth, "I never heard her fetch a sigh but when the queen of Scots was beheaded. Then, upon my knowledge, she shed many tears and sighs."

† By the term 'rascal's son' she is said to have meant lord Beauchamp, the son of Catherine Grey (above, p. 162), whose name had been mentioned as representative of the house of Suffolk.

mounted, on the power and influence to which she attained both at home and abroad, on the respect in which she was held by foreigners, and the admiration and affection of her own subjects, we must at once recognise the true greatness of her character. Elizabeth was endowed by nature with vigour of mind, prudence, sagacity, and penetration. She knew how to select those adapted for the public service, and she steadily supported them against the arts and intrigues of their enemies. In her deportment she was majestic, in her manners affable and courteous, but still the sovereign*, in her dress and style of living splendid and magnificent. She was fond of popularity, and omitted no honest art for gaining it.

The defects of this great princess were those of the woman. She loved dress overmuch, she was a coquette by nature, and delighted in the language of courtly and amorous adulation; she excessively admired beauty in the other sex, and indulged in familiarities of act and language toward her favourites highly indecorous when judged by the present standard. Hence her inveterate enemies, the papists, have taken occasion to represent her as a modern *Messalina*. Their calumnies, however, are incredible in themselves and utterly devoid of proof†. In her temper Elizabeth was

* "Her mind," says Harrington, "was ofttime like the gentle air that cometh from the westerly point in a summer's morn; 't was sweet and refreshing to all around her. . . . Again, she could put forth such alterations, when obedience was lacking, as left no doubtings whose daughter she was." A little further on he says, "When she smiled it was a pure sunshine that every one did chuse to bask in if they could; but anon came a storm from a sudden gathering of clouds, and the thunder fell in wondrous manner on all alike."

† See the vile malicious letter of Mary to her, (Murdin, 558) which proves at least the grossness of Mary's mind, even supposing her only to repeat, as she says, the words of lady Shrewsbury; who, by the way, accused Mary herself of intriguing with the earl her husband. Lingard (whose history of this reign might perhaps be assigned to the region of historical romance) describes her as "callous to every sense of shame," and misquotes Osborne to hint that "her licentious habits survived even when the fires of wantonness had been quenched by the chill of age." He enumerates as her gallants Leicester, Hatton, Raleigh, Oxford, Blount, Simier, and Anjou. Even protestants have lent their feeble aid toward maligning the virgin queen.

The following passage of Castelnau the French ambassador, who knew Eliza-

prone to anger ; she often struck those with whom she was offended, and oaths were familiar to her lips. She was frequently vacillating and uncertain in her resolutions, and she was capable of profound dissimulation. Toward the close of her reign her frugality approached the bounds of parsimony.

To the unprejudiced eye which contemplates the lustre of her regal virtues these defects will, however, appear but as spots on the sun. Posterity confirms, and ever will confirm, the judgement of her contemporaries, which placed Elizabeth in the very first rank among sovereigns.

The court of Elizabeth was gay and splendid, and contrasted strongly with the gloom of that of the latter years of her fanatical sister. Our popish historian artfully endeavours to make it out to have been little better than a Paphian temple, on the authority of one Faunt, a rigid querulous puritan ; as if there ever was a court which would not appear licentious and dissolute in the eyes of an austere religionist. The fact is that the Reformation had raised the tone of morals, and in protestant courts actions were severely censured which were regarded as merely venial offences at Rome, Paris, and Madrid. Still the court of Elizabeth partook of the character of the times, and it certainly could not vie in decorum and morality with the present court of England.

The heaviest charge brought against Elizabeth and her government is the persecution of the catholics. One is tempted to cry out with the indignant satirist, *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?* on hearing *them* complain* ; but the faults and vices of one party do not justify

beth and her court intimately, we think suffices to refute these slanders : “ Et si l'on a voulu taxer fausement d'avoir de l'amour, je dirai avec vérité que ce sont inventions forgées de ses malveillans et de cabinets des ambassadeurs pour dégouter de son alliance ceux aux quels elle eut été utile.” (Mem., i. 62.)

* The balance of blood between the two religions may be thus stated. During the 45 years of Elizabeth about 200 catholics it is said were executed as traitors, while in the six years of Mary nearly 300 protestants were burnt

those of the other. Let us then calmly consider the state of the case. During the greater part of Elizabeth's reign there was a pretender to the throne, whose title the catholics in general regarded as better than hers; conspiracies were continually formed against her; she had been spiritually outlawed by the pope. To guard against the evils which menaced the queen and the protestant religion severe laws were passed by the legislature, and several of those who violated them were executed, not on account of their religion, but, as was constantly asserted, as traitors*. The mode of execution was that which had been in use for centuries. It was barbarous and cruel no doubt; but the queen directed a mitigation of it, at least in London. As to those who suffered, many of them appear to have been upright and conscientious men; but they knew the law, they wilfully violated it, and they therefore had little right to complain when the penalty was inflicted†. We are far from justifying severe and cruel laws, and we are as sincere advocates for the rights of conscience as any; but we would have Elizabeth and her ministers judged by the maxims of their age. Toleration was then a thing unknown; individuals might have been in favour of trying it, but it would have been quite an experiment; and we are perhaps not justified in asserting positively that it would have been a successful one. The fact certainly is that the course adopted *did* succeed, and that during the reign of Elizabeth popery completely lost its ground in England.

solely on account of their religion. To the account of Rome are also to be placed the 50,000 or 100,000 put to death in the Netherlands; the St. Bartholomew massacre; the 100,000 persons burnt by the Inquisition, according to Llorente; the massacre of the Vaudois; the *dragonnades*, &c. of Louis XIV. when he revoked the edict of Nantes; the massacres in the Irish rebellion of 1641, &c. &c.

* Sir Edward Coke asserted that "in all her late majesty's time, by the space of forty-four years and upwards, there were for treasonable practices executed in all not thirty priests, nor above five receivers and harbourers of them; and *for religion not any one*."—Jardine, Crim. Trials, ii. 133.

† "There seems to be good reason for doubting whether any one who was executed might not have saved his life by explicitly denying the pope's power to depose the queen."—Hallam, i. 222.

The persecution of the puritans in this reign has not the same plea of self-defence in its favour; it is only an instance of the spirit of the age. No party in fact were more intolerant than the puritans themselves; they were the most zealous promoters of the severe measures against the catholics.

This reign also was deformed by the horrid practice of burning as heretics those who went further than the party in power had chosen to go in their secession from Rome. Four persons suffered under the writ "*De hæretico comburendo*." A single voice, that of honest John Foxe, the martyrologist, was raised, but raised in vain, against depriving men of their lives for their religious opinions.

In consequence of the suppression of monasteries, the increase of pasturage and enclosures, and the natural progress of population in a period of domestic peace and tranquillity, the practice of mendicancy had grown to an alarming extent. Various fruitless attempts having been made from the time of Henry VIII. to suppress it, an act was finally passed (44 Eliz. ch. 2.) enacting that all maimed and impotent persons should be provided for at the expense of their respective parishes, and that employment should be found for the unemployed able-bodied poor. This was the origin of the Poor-laws, which form so conspicuous a feature of our subsequent legislation.

The queen favoured commerce and maritime enterprise, being well aware of the importance of naval power for the defence of the realm. The trade which had been opened with Russia in her sister's reign, when English vessels penetrated through the Icy Sea to Archangel, was continued, and daring traders conveyed their goods thence to the Caspian, and sold them in Persia. A trade was also opened with Turkey. But the efforts of the queen for the promotion of trade were frustrated in a great measure by the practice of granting patents of monopoly, which she carried to a greater extent than had been done by her predecessors. To her frugal temper this seemed a thrifty mode of gratifying her

courtiers, and rewarding the meritorious. The grantees sold their patents to companies of traders, who set on the articles the highest prices that purchasers could pay; salt, for example, being raised from 15*d.* to 15*s.* a bushel. Scarcely any article had escaped the rapacity of the courtiers*; but in 1601, when the matter had caused a great ferment in the commons, the prudent queen promised that she would revoke all such patents as should be proved injurious.

The reign of Elizabeth was also a period of literary glory. Hitherto the name of Chaucer almost alone could be placed on the rolls of genius; but now a noble band of poets appeared, who were to set England on a line with Greece and Italy. To whom are unknown the undying names of Shakspeare and Spenser, the chiefs of this poetic choir? In prose, Hooker first gave proof of the depth and eloquence, the dignity and harmony, of which the English language is capable of being the vehicle.

Newspapers, now of such importance, first appeared in England during the reign of Elizabeth. In the year of the Armada, a kind of gazette, named the Mercury, was established.

* When the list was read in the house in 1601, a member cried, "Is not bread in the number?" "Bread!" cried the rest in amaze. "Nay," said he, "if no remedy is found for this, bread will be there before the next parliament."

CHAPTER XIII.

ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS.

Power of the crown.—House of commons.—Court of Star-chamber.—Court of High-commission.—Wardship.—Younger brothers.—Leigers or resident ambassadors.—Lingard.

THE period during which the throne of England was occupied by the house of Tudor was one of transition in politics and religion. The crown at this time acquired a degree of strength and influence unknown to the Plantagenets, but the power which was to control it was secretly growing up. This new power was the commons; for those who in reality had withstood the prerogative of the Edwards and the Henries were the ancient nobility, the feudal aristocracy, beneath whose protection the house of commons acted against the crown. But the war of the Roses, and various natural and political causes had thinned the ranks and broken the power of the feudal baronage, and the commons without leaders or support became timid and submissive. A new nobility, indebted to royal favour for its honours and to royal munificence or profusion for its wealth, sprang up*. It was naturally timid, subservient and self-seeking, and we have seen on numerous occasions how abjectly it obeyed the royal will. Were it not for the spirit breathed by the Reformation, which gradually infused vigour and courage into the breasts of the commons, the sacred flame of liberty might have become extinct. It is not to be denied that to the puritans we are mainly indebted for its conservation.

Under Henry VIII. the commons were in their most feeble condition; for the very circumstance to which they owed their future strength, namely, the Reformation, con-

* Only a small portion of our nobility, such as the Howards, the Stanleys, the Nevilles, the Percies, the Courtenays, can trace its honours beyond the time of the Tudors.

tributed to augment the power of the despot, who holding the balance between the two parties, was courted by both, and neither would risk the forfeiture of his favour or incur his displeasure by any efforts in the cause of the national liberties. Yet servile as was the house of commons under Henry, it sometimes presumed to resist the attempts of the crown to obtain money. The commons under Edward VI. showed some symptoms of returning vigour. They ventured to throw out several bills sent down from the lords. The parliaments of Mary proved, as we have seen, refractory on several points, and the puritanic spirit, which began to assume strength in the time of Elizabeth, manifested itself on various occasions by an opposition to the court so strong as to cause that prudent princess to recede from measures which she had proposed, and to promise compliance with the wishes of the commons.

The strongest proof which can be afforded of the growing power of the house of commons is the anxiety of the court to procure influence in it. This was effected by creating new boroughs, or restoring their privilege to those boroughs which, on account of the expense of the wages to their representatives, had let it go out of use. Care of course was always taken to select those places in which the crown or its supporters had influence, and in this manner numbers of the servants of the court obtained seats in the house of commons. In the reign of Edward two-and-twenty boroughs were thus created or restored; Mary added fourteen to the number, and Elizabeth continued the practice. We thus see that Time was not the only agent in the production of rotten boroughs.

The power of the crown, independently of the parliament, was however very considerable and almost overwhelming even under the later Tudors: it retained all its feudal prerogatives, with the addition of the ecclesiastical authority acquired by Henry VIII., and in the courts of star-chamber and of high-commission it had two mighty engines of oppression.

The origin of the court of star-chamber was as follows.

The council, i. e. the *Curia Regis*, had all along exercised a very arbitrary degree of power. As it usually sat in the apartment named the star-chamber, from the stars with which it was adorned, it thence derived its appellation. It silently acquired the powers vested in the court erected by the statute of 3 Henry VII. It served, as sir Thomas Smith expresses it, "to bridle such stout noblemen or gentlemen which would offer wrong by force to any manner of men, and cannot be content to demand or defend the right by order of the law;" and so far it was beneficial. But it gradually extended its jurisdiction much further, and took cognisance of such a number of offences as rendered it a powerful implement of despotism. Thus it punished scandalous reports of persons in power and the spreading of seditious news; if a man refused to lend money as a benevolence he was summoned before the council, as also were jurors who found verdicts contrary to the wishes of the crown. It punished by fine and imprisonment, and there was no appeal from its sentence.

Severe and arbitrary as the star-chamber was in civil matters, a more tyrannic tribunal took cognisance of affairs relating to religion. This was the court of high-commission, a miniature Inquisition, which was completed in the year 1580. The spirit of the age, which knew not toleration, was the true origin of this tribunal; but its germ appears to have been a commission granted by queen Mary in 1557 to certain prelates and others to inquire after heresies, and punish those who did not come to church, or misbehaved themselves there, etc. The court of high-commission consisted of forty-four members, of whom twelve were bishops. They were to take cognisance of all violations of the acts of supremacy, uniformity, and two other acts, in any way, by deed, speech, or writing. They could punish those who absented themselves from church, and those guilty of incest, adultery, etc.; they might examine suspected persons on their oaths, *ex officio*, and punish by fine, imprisonment, etc.; they might visit and reform heresies and schisms, and deprive beneficed persons

holding doctrines contrary to the thirty-nine articles. In a word, their power had hardly any limits, and by means of it a perfect despotism over opinion was established.

The feudal burdens continued to be as oppressive as ever. The lower orders of the people were sorely aggrieved by the abuses of purveyance*, and wardship was a source of ruin to numbers of the gentry. The following picture of its evils is from the pen of an able statesman in the reign of Elizabeth.

“Many men,” says sir Thomas Smith†, “do esteem this wardship by knight’s service very unreasonable and unjust, and contrary to nature, that a freeman and gentleman should be bought and sold like a horse or an ox, and so change guardians as masters and lords, at whose government not only his body but his lands and his houses should be to be wasted and spent without accounts, and then to marry at the will of him who is his natural lord, or his will who has bought him, to such as he likes not peradventure, or else to pay so great a ransom. This is the occasion they say why many gentlemen be so evil brought up touching virtue and learning, and but only in daintiness and pleasure, and why they be married very young and before they be wise, and many times do not greatly love their wives. For when the father is dead, who hath the natural care of his child? not the mother, nor the

* Osborne relates the following anecdote. “A purveyor having abused the county of Kent, upon the queen’s remove to Greenwich, a countryman watching the time she went to walk, which was commonly early, and being wise enough to take his time when she stood unbent and quiet from the ordinary occasions she was taken up with, placing himself within the reach of her ear, did after the fashion of his caste cry aloud, ‘Which is the queen?’ whereupon, as her manner was, she turned about toward him, and he continuing still his question, she herself answered, ‘I am your queen: what wouldst thou have with me?’ ‘You,’ replied the fellow, ‘are one of the rarest women I ever saw, and can eat no more than my daughter Madge, who is thought the properest lass in our parish, though short of you; but that queen Elizabeth I look for devours so many of my hens, ducks, and capons as I am not able to live.’” The queen, it is added, pleased with the praise of her beauty, inquired who the purveyor was, and, as the story went, caused him to be hanged.

† Commonwealth of England, Book iii. ch. 5.

uncle, nor the next of kin, who by all reason would have most natural care for the bringing up of the infant and minor, but the lord of whom he holdeth his land in the knight's service, be it the king or queen, duke, marquess, or any other, hath the government of his body and marriage, or else who that bought him at the first, second or third hand. The prince as having so many must needs give or sell his wards away to other, and so he doth. Other do but seek which way they may make most advantage of him, as of an ox or other beast. These all, say they, have no natural care of the infant but of their own gain; and especially, the buyer will not suffer his ward to take any great pains either in study or any other hardness, lest he should be sick and die before he hath married his daughter, sister, or cousin, for whose sake he bought him, and then all his money which he paid for him should be lost. So he who had a father which kept a good house, and had all things in good order to maintain it, shall come to his own after he is out of wardship, woods decayed, houses fallen down, stock wasted and gone, lands lent forth and ploughed to the barren, and, to make amends, shall pay yet one year's rent for relief, and sue *ouster le main*, beside other charges; so that not of many years, and peradventure never, he shall be able to recover and come to the estate where his father left it."

The situation of the younger children of the nobility and gentry at this period, it may be here observed, was often lamentable, as there were not then the colonies, large land- and sea-forces, numerous public offices, etc. which now diminish to the aristocracy the evils of excess of population. Younger sons sometimes sought to push their fortune at court, or they went into the military service of foreign states, or engaged in naval enterprises. They not unfrequently became gamblers, sharpers, and even highway robbers. They were usually left dependent on their elder brother, or had a small annuity bequeathed them, which he was to pay; and if through vice or folly he ran through his

property, his brothers and sisters became his fellow-sufferers. The misery which younger brothers endured is thus without exaggeration portrayed by an eminent dramatic poet of those days. "May be," says a younger to an elder brother,—

"May be you look'd I should petition to you
 As you went to your horse, flatter your servants
 To play the brokers for my furtherance,
 Sooth your worst humours, act the parasite
 On all occasions, write my name with theirs
 That are but one degree removed from slaves,
 Be drunk when you would have me, then wench with you,
 Or play the pander, enter into quarrels,
 Although unjustly ground, and defend them
 Because they were yours. These are the tyrannies
 Most younger brothers groan beneath, yet bear them
 From the insulting heir, selling their freedom
 At a less rate than what the state allows
 The salary of base and common strumpets *."

Glorious, therefore, as were the days of Elizabeth, we can look back on them without regret; and though, as happiness is seated in the mind, and comforts which are unknown are not missed, we cannot strike a just balance between our own condition and that of our forefathers, still the probability is that there is less of positive pain and evil endured at the present day than during the reign of Elizabeth.

In the time of the Tudors, on account of the more extended relations among the different European states, it became the custom to have resident ambassadors, or *Leigers*, as they were named, at the different courts, in order to obtain correct information of the state of affairs in them. These leigers usually took an active part in the domestic affairs of the country in which they were resident, even fomenting

* Fletcher's 'Queen of Corinth,' act i. scene 2. See also Shakspeare's 'As you like it,' and the old play called 'The Miseries of enforced Marriage,' which likewise displays the evils of wardship in strong colours. It is probably the courtezans at the temple of Venus in Corinth that are alluded to in the last line of the passage in the text.

at times rebellions and conspiracies and encouraging opposition to the court. Much valuable information respecting the history of England under the Tudors and Stuarts has been derived from the despatches of the French and other residents at the court of London. At the same time we must not, as is too often done, give implicit credit to all their statements. They generally laboured under the disadvantage of being ignorant of the English language, and their means of acquiring information were therefore limited. They had also like other men their passions and prejudices,—they caught eagerly at what favoured their own views, and often transmitted to their courts mere gossip and rumour.

. In concluding the history of the house of Tudor, we feel it incumbent on us to offer some remarks on the manner in which it has been treated by our Romish historian; for the many merits of his work are not to be denied, and from the very great efforts which are made to get it into circulation, it may succeed in infusing erroneous notions into the minds of a large class of readers.

We think, then, that we may venture to pronounce with confidence, that in this portion of his history, Dr. Lingard is to be regarded as an advocate rather than as an historian. The guiding principle of the latter is to conceal no truth, to utter no falsehood; that of the former, to hide everything that makes against his client or for the opposite party, or to soften and extenuate in the former case, to detract from and enfeeble in the latter. This is precisely the mode in which Dr. Lingard proceeds; every document, for example, injurious to the fame of Mary queen of Scots or favourable to Elizabeth is passed over in silence, while everything that can be made to appear to exalt the former or degrade the latter is blazoned forth with the utmost skill and solicitude. Hence in the pages of this writer the two queens Mary, Philip of Spain, Gardiner, Bonner, and all the leading catholics appear almost faultless, while Eli-

zabeth and her great ministers Burleigh and Walsingham, and all the more illustrious protestant statesmen and prelates are presented under the darkest colours. In a historic point of view (to mention no other) this conduct of Dr. Lingard is to be regretted; for from the means which he possesses of obtaining extracts from the manuscripts in the archives at Simancas in Spain, and from the various original papers which have been placed in his hands by members of his communion, he might have made larger additions to the stock of history than he appears to have done. We speak thus, because, from the manner in which he has acted in the case of printed documents, we may be very certain that if his peculiar stores contain anything adverse to his clients or advantageous to their opponents, so far as depends on him it will remain concealed from the world.

HOUSE OF STUART.—PART I.

CHAPTER I.

JAMES I.*

1603—1613.

Accession of James.—Bye- and Surprise-plots.—Hampton-court Conference.—Gunpowder-plot.—Death of Salisbury;—of prince Henry.—Arabella Stuart.

ON the death of queen Elizabeth, the right to the crown of England lay between the descendants of Margaret and Mary, daughters of Henry VII., married to the king of Scotland, and to Brandon duke of Suffolk. By the last will of Henry VIII., sanctioned by an act of the legislature, the crown was settled on the latter in case of the failure of his own issue. The legal right, therefore, of the house of Suffolk was beyond dispute. But, on the other hand, the general feeling in favour of primogeniture and hereditary right was too strong to be thus overcome; and the advantages to be derived from the accession of the king of Scotland were so great, that the nation readily acquiesced in the last disposition of the late queen, and James was proclaimed with as little opposition as if he had been an heir-apparent.

During the latter years of queen Elizabeth, the jesuited portion of the catholics† had been in secret correspondence

* Authorities: Wilson, Weldon, and the papers in Winwood and other collections, &c.

† The English catholics were divided into two parties; the *jesuited*, as they were named, that is, the adherents of the jesuits, and the followers of the secular clergy.

with the king of Spain about asserting the claim of his daughter, the Infanta; while others, with the sanction of the pope, who did not wish to aggrandize too much the house of Austria, looked to Arabella Stuart, daughter of the younger brother of James's father, alleging that her birth within the realm obviated, in law, her defect of primogeniture; for, though Arabella was a protestant, they had some hopes of her conversion. They did not, however, feel themselves strong enough to make any efforts in her favour; and James, who had long been in secret communication with the court of Rome and the English catholics, had given them reason to expect that they might expect freedom from molestation, at the least, under his dominion.

After the death of Essex, sir Robert Cecil had entered into close and secret relations with the king of Scotland, engaging to remove all difficulties in the way of his peaceful succession. His efforts had been completely successful; and James, on receiving due notification of his having been proclaimed, prepared to set forth for the Land of Promise, as he termed it to his hungry and longing favourites. The change was to him great indeed; he was about to pass from a throne of most scanty revenues, and a realm where the royal authority was continually thwarted by a turbulent, ferocious nobility, and a morose, domineering clergy, to a kingdom where the regal power had long been nearly uncontrolled, and where the revenues of the crown were splendid and ample.

On the 5th of April James departed from Edinburgh. When he entered England, the people everywhere poured forth in joyous crowds to greet him; and the nobles, as he proceeded, entertained him sumptuously at their houses. But the contrast was striking between him and their late glorious sovereign. When Elizabeth was on a progress, she was splendidly habited; her people had free access to her, and their proofs of affection were received with smiles and with courteous expressions, blended with the majesty

and dignity inseparable from her air and mien. They beheld their new monarch meanly attired, (for he cared not for dress; his clothes being always of one fashion, quilted so as to be stiletto-proof, and worn till they were in rags) his person ungraceful, his limbs feeble, his gait what, in the dialect of his country, is termed '*todlin*'*. His tongue was too large for his mouth, and thus augmented the uncouthness of his broad northern accent. Under pretext of its enhancing the price of provisions, he forbade the resort of people to him on his way; he allowed ladies, it is said, to kneel to him, and spoke in language derogatory of the fair sex in general. At Newark he ordered a pick-pocket, taken in the fact within the range of the court, to be executed without trial†. In short, by the time he reached London his popularity was well nigh gone.

On his approach to the capital, James took up his abode for some days at Theobalds, the residence of sir Robert Cecil; during which time he formed his council, by adding to that of the late queen's the following Scots: the duke of Lennox, the earl of Mar, lord Hume, lord Kinloss, sir George Hume, and sir James Elphinstone. A proclamation was issued, holding forth hopes of a mitigation of the evils of monopolies, purveyance, and protections in law-suits. The king then began to shower his honours with a lavish hand on his subjects of both nations. Knight-hood, for example, was bestowed with such profusion, that in the course of three months he had conferred that honour

* "I shall leave him dressed to posterity," says Osborne, "in the colours I saw him in the next progress after his inauguration, which was as green as the grass he trod on, with a feather in his cap and a horn instead of a sword by his side; how suitable to his age, calling or person, I leave others to judge from his pictures; he owning a countenance not in the least regard semblab' to any my eyes ever met with, besides a host dwelling in Anthill, formerly shepherd, and so metaphorically of the same profession."

† "I hear our new king," writes sir J. Harrington, "has hanged one m before he was tried; it is strangely done: now if the wind bloweth thus, w' may not a man be tried before he has offended?"

on not less than seven hundred persons. A pasquinade was affixed to St. Paul's, entitled 'A Help for weak Memories to retain the Names of the Nobility.'

The principal titles conferred were as follows: Cecil was created successively baron Essington, viscount Cranburne, and earl of Salisbury; lord Buckhurst was made earl of Dorset; and lord Pembroke's brother Philip earl of Montgomery; the chancellor Egerton became baron of Ellesmere. James also, to evince his gratitude to the friends of himself and his mother, released the earl of Southampton from the Tower, and restored him and the son of the earl of Essex to their estates and honours. He admitted into the council Thomas Howard, the son, and Henry, the brother of the late duke of Norfolk; and some time after, he created the former earl of Suffolk, and the latter earl of Northampton. He also restored the title of Arundel and Surrey to Thomas, son of Philip, the eldest son of that unhappy duke.

Ambassadors from foreign powers now arrived to congratulate James on his accession. Henry IV. of France sent his friend and minister, the marquess Rosni (afterwards duke of Sully), to study the character of the new monarch, and try to induce him to join in an extensive league against the house of Austria. Sully, on his arrival, prepared to put himself and suite in deep mourning, out of respect to the memory of the late queen; but he gave up the design, on being assured by the resident ambassador that he should thereby give mortal offence at court*. He found James so bent on peace with Spain, that he would only engage to aid the Dutch underhand. Sully's opinion of the British monarch is briefly and truly given in his expression, that he was "the wisest fool in Christendom."

* James affected to speak slightly of Elizabeth; but as he offered to appear as chief mourner at her funeral, his forbidding mourning at court may have had its source in his aversion from gloom: he did the same on the death of his own son.

Here it may be useful to give some further account of king James. He was now thirty-six years of age ; his education had been confided to the celebrated George Buchanan ; but though the tutor had been one of the ablest assertors of the doctrine that all power proceeds from the people, to whom the holder is answerable for the exercise of it, the pupil had adopted the most extravagant ideas of the extent of the royal prerogative. Flattered by courtiers, and regarding himself as the representative of the endless line of Scottish monarchs, and of the Saxon and Norman lines in England, he considered the people as made for kings, who are to them as the shepherds to their flocks, and are accountable to God alone for their trust. As he was learned, and wrote with facility, he had embodied his notions in a work for the use of his son, which he named the '*Basili-kon Doron,*' or *Royal Gift*. He had also published works on demonology and other subjects but little suited to the pen of a monarch. He was in effect a royal pedant (a very rare character), with large stores of acquired knowledge, with shrewdness and sagacity, but wanting wisdom. By himself and his flatterers he was styled the British Solomon*.

By his union with Anne, sister of the king of Denmark, James had now surviving two sons, Henry and Charles, and one daughter, Elizabeth. The queen was a woman of an intriguing, ambitious spirit, fond of amusement and gaiety. Prince Henry, as he grew up, developed a character every way the opposite of that of his father.

James was hardly well seated on his throne, when a double conspiracy, it was said, was formed against him. The one was named the '*Bye,*' the '*Surprise,*' or the '*Surprising Plot,*' for reasons which will presently appear. The chief actors in it were two secular popish priests, named Watson and Clarke ; sir Griffin Markham, a catholic gentleman ; George Brooke, brother of lord Cobham (who

* Henry IV., on hearing this, said he hoped he was not the son of David the fiddler.

himself had knowledge of it), and lord Grey of Wilton, the head of the puritans. Common discontent was the only principle of union among these discordant elements. Their plan was to *surprise* and seize the king, then convey him to the Tower or to Dover Castle, and oblige him when there to grant a full pardon to all concerned, secure toleration to the catholic religion, and dismiss his privy council. Watson, it was said, was then to be chancellor, Brooke treasurer, Markham principal secretary, and Grey marshal and master of the horse. This last, however, finding the catholics to predominate in their councils, made a pretext to withdraw himself from them; and one thing or another causing the execution to be deferred, Cecil came to the knowledge of it*; and the principal conspirators were arrested.

The other plot was named the 'Main,' or the 'Spanish Treason.' The chief parties in this were said to be sir Walter Raleigh, lord Cobham, and George Brooke. Its object, as was asserted, was to place Arabella Stuart on the throne by the aid of a Spanish army and Spanish money. Brooke formed the link between the Main and the Bye. When the latter plot was discovered, Raleigh was arrested as a suspicious person; but as he was really ignorant of it, nothing could be brought against him, and he was dismissed. A letter, however, which he wrote to Cobham, to put him on his guard, having been intercepted, they were both committed to the Tower.

The court being at Winchester on account of the plague, the two priests, Brooke and Markham, with sir Edward Parham, and two other gentlemen, were arraigned there on the 15th of November. Parham was acquitted, all the rest were found guilty. On the 17th Raleigh was brought to trial. The only evidence against him was the declaration of Cobham; for when he was on his examination (July 20), he was shown a note from Raleigh to Cecil, hinting that he had intelligence with Aremberg, the Spanish minister, and

* He is said to have had his information from the jesuit party.

he then declared that he would tell all the truth ; and he revealed what he said was Raleigh's project. Against this, Raleigh produced a letter, written subsequently by Cobham, fully acquitting him ; in reply to which, the counsel for the crown gave in a letter written by Cobham only the night before, repeating his charge. The prosecution was conducted in the most virulent manner by sir Edward Coke, then attorney-general. Raleigh defended himself with great skill, temper and dignity ; but the jury (which was a packed one), insufficient as the evidence was, found him guilty, and he was sentenced to die. To use Raleigh's own words, "it was as unjust a condemnation, without proof and testimony, as ever man had." The king himself, as Raleigh afterwards asserted, prayed that *he* might never be tried by a Middlesex jury. It is also said, that when Coke heard, as he was walking in the castle garden, that the jury had found Raleigh guilty of high treason, he said, "Surely thou art mistaken : I myself accused him but of misprision of treason." Osborne says that "some of the jury were afterwards so touched in conscience as to demand of Raleigh pardon on their knees."

On the following Friday Cobham was tried by his peers. He behaved in the most abject manner possible, throwing the whole blame on his brother and Raleigh. He was found guilty without hesitation. Next day Grey was arraigned : he defended himself with great spirit and ability ; but the evidence was too strong against him, and he also was condemned.

The two priests were hung, and emboweled in the usual barbarous manner, before they were dead. Brooke was beheaded. Markham was led to the scaffold. Just then a messenger came from court, and whispered to the sheriff, who gave the prisoner two hours' respite, and took him away. Grey was next brought out, but the sheriff withdrew him also, saying that Cobham was to precede him. Cobham when he came on the scaffold, "did much cosen the world," for he showed the greatest firmness and resolution. H

expressed his sorrow for his offence to the king, and "took it upon the hope of his soul's resurrection, that what he had said of Raleigh was true." The sheriff then told him that he must be confronted with some other persons. Grey and Markham were immediately led forth; and while they gazed on each other in amazement, the sheriff announced to them that the king granted them their lives. Markham was banished the kingdom; Cobham was deprived of his offices and estates, and he died some years after in the utmost misery. Grey remained a prisoner in the Tower till his death, in 1614. Raleigh's life also was spared for the present.

The preceding drama was a device of the king's, who was certainly not a man of blood. It is quite evident that one object in view was, to obtain what might be regarded as Cobham's dying assertion of the guilt of Raleigh; for (though cowards sometimes die with courage) there seems reason to think that Cobham's magnanimity was the result of his knowledge of his life not being in danger. The king was inimical to Raleigh as the enemy of Essex, and as one of those who had proposed that he should be permitted to mount the throne only on conditions. Cecil was now the enemy of Raleigh, whose talents he feared; and on the whole, we think there is some probability in the hypothesis of Cobham's being merely the tool of him and lord Henry Howard in fixing the charge of treason on Raleigh, who might thus be immured for the rest of his days. It is probable that there was no intention of touching his life. The intrigue with Spain, with which Raleigh was charged, seems contrary to the tenor of his whole life and actions*.

The next affair which occupied the attention of king James was one more congenial to his disposition. When he was on his way to London from Scotland, the puritan

* See Jardine's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i., and Cayley's and Tytler's *Lives of Sir Walter Raleigh*.

clergy presented their Millenary petition*, praying for reformation in the church. They desired that the sign of the cross should not be made in baptism, or that rite be administered by women; the ring be disused in marriage; confirmation be abolished; the clergy not to wear the cap and surplice, or teach the people to bow at the name of Jesus; the service to be curtailed, and the Apocrypha not to be read as part of it; church music to be reformed; the Lord's day not to be profaned, or the observation of other holidays enjoined. They also prayed that none but able men should be ordained, and that they should be obliged to reside on their cures; that bishops should not hold livings *in commendam*; that men should not be excommunicated for small matters, etc. The two universities forthwith set forth violent declarations against the petitioners, and in favour of the present state of the church. The king, being brought up in the kirk of Scotland, which rejected all that was complained of, could not with decency slight the petition. He therefore issued (Oct. 24) a proclamation for a conference between the two parties to be held in his own presence at Hampton Court.

The conference commenced on the 14th of January, 1604. On the side of the church appeared the primate Whitgift, Bancroft bishop of London, seven other prelates, and eight dignitaries: the puritans were represented by Dr. Reynolds and three others, who had been selected by the king himself. The first day the puritans were not admitted, and the king made a speech, in which he expressed his joy that "he was now come into the promised land; that he sat among grave and reverend men, and was not a king, as formerly, without state, nor in a place where beardless boys would brave him to his face†." He assured them that he did not propose any innovation, but

* So called, as it was to have been signed by one thousand (*mille*) clergymen.

† Alluding to the rudeness which he had experienced from some hot-headed young ministers in Scotland, of which various instances are on record.

that he only desired to remove such disorders as might appear. He then suggested some slight alterations in the liturgy with respect to absolution and confirmation; he also objected to baptism by women and lay persons. The amendments which he proposed were adopted without hesitation; and next day (16th) the puritans were admitted, and the king required them to state their objections. To each of their arguments James himself replied. At length, when Reynolds made proposals for holding assemblies of the clergy, and referring cases thence to the diocesan synod, the king lost his temper. He told them, as was the truth, that they were aiming at a Scots presbytery, "which," said he, "agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure both me and my council. Therefore, pray stay one seven years before you demand that of me; and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipe stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you: for let that government be up, and I am sure I shall be kept in breath." Then turning to the bishops, and putting his hand to his hat, he said, "My lords, I may thank you that these puritans plead for my supremacy; for, if once you are out, and they in place, I know what will become of my supremacy; for, No bishop, no king." He then asked Reynolds if he had anything more to say; but that divine, finding the cause prejudged, declined to proceed. "If this be all your party have to say," said the king, rising, "I will make them conform themselves, or else hurry them out of this land, or do worse." The prelates were overjoyed at the behaviour of the king. Whitgift protested that he had spoken from the spirit of God. Bancroft exclaimed, "I protest my heart melteth with joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us a king as, since Christ's time, hath not been." The chancellor said "he had never seen the king and priest so fully united in one person*."

* In our ears this sounds as monstrous and almost impious flattery. Such

Next day the puritans were called in to hear the alterations made in the prayer-book. Their entreaties for indulgence to some men of tender consciences only excited anger; the conference thus terminated, and on the 5th of March a proclamation was issued, enjoining strict conformity. A persecution of the nonconformists speedily commenced, and three hundred ministers were punished by suspension, deprivation, and other modes.

On the 19th of March the king met his first parliament. In the commons the redress of grievances, chiefly those of purveyance and the feudal incidents, was anxiously sought, and an equivalent in revenue was proposed to be given to the crown. Attempts were also made to have the laws mitigated in favour of the puritans, while those against the catholics were increased in severity. The king, finding he had little chance of obtaining a subsidy, sent to signify that he would not require it, and the parliament then separated.

In the summer a peace was concluded with the court of Spain on sufficiently honourable terms; and James, having no foreign affairs to disturb him, devoted himself to his studies, his hunting, and his other amusements. Meantime a few fanatic catholics were busily engaged in a horrible project for destroying himself, his family, and both houses of parliament. We speak of the Gunpowder-Plot, of which we will now narrate the details*.

When James was looking to the succession to the crown of England, he naturally sought to engage all parties in his interest. The catholics were still numerous and wealthy, and it is not to be doubted that he held out to them hopes of a toleration. They were therefore zealous in his favour, and on *his* part he ceased for two years to levy the fines for recusancy. He, however, had little real liking for their religion, and he more than once publicly declared his intention of treading in the footprints of Elizabeth; more-

it would be at the present day, no doubt; but exaggerated expressions of praise or blame were the style of *that* age.

* See the excellent account of it which forms the second volume of Jardine's *Criminal Trials*.

over his Scottish favourites having in many cases expended their small patrimonies were craving for supplies ; he therefore put the law against recusancy again in force, and assigned these persons pensions off the lands and properties of the catholics, which of course were levied with insolence and severity. This, and the enactment of new severities against their religion in the late parliament, convinced the catholics that they had little favour to expect. They were irritated, no doubt, but they had no thoughts of seeking redress by force, being averse from civil conflicts or aware of their inferiority in strength.

There were, however, some spirits of a different kind among them. Robert Catesby, a gentleman of good property in Northampton and Warwickshire, descended from the minister of Richard III. had been brought up a catholic; but he deserted that religion, plunged into all sorts of excesses, and ran through his patrimony. He then (1598) returned to his old religion, and making up for his apostasy by zeal became a fanatic, and engaged in all the treasons and conspiracies which agitated the latter years of Elizabeth. He now conceived the diabolical project of blowing up the parliament-house with gunpowder. This design he communicated in Lent 1604 to John Wright and Thomas Winter, two catholic gentlemen of good character, family, and fortune. The latter hesitated at first, but his scruples soon gave way, and he went over to the Netherlands on a double mission ; the one was to try to induce the constable of Castile, who was coming over to conclude the peace, to make some stipulations in favour of the catholics; the other to engage in the plot some gentlemen of courage and of military knowledge and experience. Finding that the court of Spain would not hazard the peace which was so necessary to it, on their account, he proceeded to execute the other part of his commission ; and the person on whom he fixed was one Guy Fawkes, a man of good family in Yorkshire, who, having spent his little property, had entered the Spanish service. If we may credit Father Greenway,

the associate and panegyrist of the conspirators, Fawkes was "a man of great piety, of exemplary temperance, of mild and cheerful demeanour, an enemy of broils and disputes, a faithful friend, and remarkable for his punctual attendance upon religious observances,"—in a word, a fanatic, in whose eyes religion justified every deed. Though this high-wrought character is doubtless beyond the truth, there seems on the other hand to be no ground for regarding Fawkes as a mere vulgar ruffian.

Winter and Fawkes came to London in the month of April. Catesby then communicated the project to Thomas Percy, a kinsman of the earl of Northumberland, whose steward he was, and who had been sent by him to Scotland, before the queen's death, to ascertain James's sentiments toward the catholics. He had reported most favourably, and he was now mortified at having been so completely deceived in his expectations. Like Catesby, he had been a debauchee, and was now a fanatic.

Catesby, Wright, Winter, Percy, and Fawkes, having met by appointment in a house behind Clement's Inn, took an oath on the Holy Trinity and the sacrament never to disclose what was then to be proposed. Percy and Fawkes were then informed of the plan, of which they both approved, and then in an upper room of the same house they heard mass and received the sacrament from the hands of Father Gerard, a jesuit, who, whatever may be our suspicions, as far as we have evidence, was not acquainted with their vow and its object.

A house adjoining the parliament-house was now taken in Percy's name ; and Fawkes, under the assumed name of Johnson, and as Percy's servant, was put in charge of it. Another house was hired at Lambeth, where the powder and the timber for the construction of the mine which they proposed to run might be collected, and the care of it was committed to one Robert Keyes, who was likewise sworn to secrecy. Parliament being adjourned till the 7th of February following, the conspirators went down to the

country, agreeing to meet again in November. During the summer and autumn the proceedings of the government against the catholics were extremely rigorous, and several jesuits and seminary priests were tried and executed. The conspirators were therefore the more confirmed in their resolution.

On the night of the 11th of December Catesby and his associates entered the house in Westminster, well supplied with mining tools, and with hard eggs and baked meats for their support. They began to mine the wall of three yards in thickness between theirs and the parliament-house. Fawkes stood sentinel while the others wrought. Finding the work more severe than they had expected, they summoned Keyes from Lambeth, and they admitted Wright's brother Christopher into their association. They spread the matter which they extracted in the day over the garden at night, and not one of them ever went out of the house or even into the upper part of it, lest they might be seen. They wrought without ceasing till Christmas-eve, when Fawkes brought them intelligence that parliament was further prorogued till October. They then agreed to separate till after the holidays, when they would resume their labours.

During the month of January (1605) Catesby admitted into the conspiracy Robert the elder brother of Thomas Winter, and John Grant of Norbrook, near Warwick, and an old servant of his own named Thomas Bates. In February they renewed their labours in the mine, and they had pierced half-way through the wall, when they suddenly, as we are assured, heard the tolling of a bell within the wall under the parliament-house; they stopped and listened; Fawkes was called down, and he also heard it. On sprinkling the place however with holy water, the mysterious sound ceased; it was frequently renewed, but the same remedy always proved efficacious, and it at length ceased altogether. One day they heard a rushing noise over their heads; they thought they were discovered, but Fawkes on inquiry found that it was made by a man of

the name of Bright, who was selling off his coals from a cellar under the house of lords in order to remove. They resolved at once to take the cellar, for exclusive of the labour they found the water now coming in on them. The cellar was taken in Percy's name also ; twenty barrels of powder were conveyed to it from the house in Lambeth, their iron tools and large stones were put into the barrels with it, in order to give more efficacy to the explosion, and the whole was covered with billets and faggots ; and lumber and empty bottles were scattered through the cellar. They then closed it up, placing marks withinside of the door, that they might be able to ascertain if any one should enter it during their absence. Having sent Fawkes to Flanders to inform sir William Stanley and other English officers of the project, and to try to obtain foreign aid, they separated for the summer. In the autumn sir Edmund Baynham was sent to Rome as the agent of the conspirators, with whose designs it is likely he was acquainted. As it was necessary to have horses and arms ready, Catesby pretended that he was commissioned to raise a troop of horse for the Spanish service, and he had thus a pretext for collecting arms, etc., at his own house, and at that of Grant ; and several catholic gentlemen undertaking to join him as volunteers, he directed them to prepare their arms and to be ready when called on. He and Percy now thought it necessary to associate some gentlemen of wealth in order to obtain the requisite funds, and they fixed on sir Everard Digby of Rutlandshire, Ambrose Rookwood of Suffolk, and Francis Tresham of Northamptonshire ; the two first, who were weak bigots but virtuous men, hesitated at first, but finally joined cordially in the project ; the last, a man of indifferent character, was only admitted on account of his wealth, and Catesby, it is said, had always a mistrust of him.

Parliament being ultimately appointed to meet on the 5th of November, the conspirators made their final arrangements. Fawkes was to fire the mine by means of a slow

match, which would take a quarter of an hour to reach the powder; and as soon as he had lighted it, he was to hasten and get aboard a small vessel which was ready in the river, and carry the news over to Flanders. Digby was on that day to assemble a number of the catholic gentry under pretext of a hunting party at Dunchurch, in Warwickshire; and as soon as they heard of the blow being struck, they were to send a party to seize the princess Elizabeth, who was at lord Harrington's, in that neighbourhood, and she was to be proclaimed in case Winter should fail in the part assigned him of securing one of her brothers.

There was one point which had been disputed from the beginning, namely, how to act with respect to the catholic nobles. Catesby, it would seem, had little scruple about destroying them with the rest, but the majority were for saving their friends and relations. Tresham, in particular, was most earnest to save his brothers-in-law, the lords Stourton and Mouteagle. It was finally agreed that no express notice should be given, but that various pretexts should be employed to induce their friends to stay away. This however did not content Tresham, and some days after he urged on Catesby and Percy that notice should be given to lord Mouteagle; and on their hesitating, he hinted that he should not be ready with the money he had promised, and proposed that the catastrophe should be put off till the closing of the parliament. His arguments however proved ineffectual.

On the 26th of October lord Mouteagle went and supped at his house at Hoxton, where he had not been for a month before. At supper a letter was handed him by a page, who said he had received it from a strange man in the street. It was anonymous. By his lordship's direction a gentleman named Ward read it aloud. It desired him to make some excuse for not attending parliament, "for God and man," it said, "hath concurred to punish the wickedness of this time," with sundry other mysterious hints. Lord Mouteagle took it that very evening to lord Salis-

bury at Whitehall, who showed it to some other lords of the council; and it was decided that nothing should be done till the king's return from Royston, where he was hunting.

It has been a matter of much dispute by whom this letter was written. The most likely person by far was Tresham, and it is not improbable that he had already given full information to Lord Mounteagle, and through him to the government, and that the letter was only a device to conceal the real mode of discovery. Tresham too was anxious to save his friends, and but for their own infatuation this might have been effected, for Winter was informed next morning of this letter, and they could have escaped in the vessel prepared for Fawkes. On the 30th Tresham came from the country to London; Catesby and Winter charged him with having written the letter, intending to poniard him if he confessed or hesitated; but he denied with such firmness, that they were, or affected to be, satisfied, and they resolved to go on with their design.

Next day (31st) the king returned to London; a council was held the following day on the subject of the letter, and James himself is said to have divined its secret meaning*. It was determined to search the cellar, but not till Monday the 4th. On that day the lord chamberlain, lord Mounteagle, and others, went to the parliament-house. They found Fawkes in the cellar, but they made no remark, and that night sir Thomas Knevet, a magistrate, was sent to the place with his assistants; he met Fawkes as he was stepping out of the door, and arrested him, and on searching the cellar thirty-six barrels of powder were discovered. Fawkes was brought before the council, where he avowed and gloried in his design, but refused to name his accomplices; he was then committed to the Tower.

Some of the conspirators had already left London, others fled when they heard of the seizure of Fawkes; they went with all speed to Ashby St. Leger's, where they found

* He might have done this, and yet Cecil have known the real fact already.

several of their friends ; they then all rode to Dunchurch to meet Digby and his party. Their dejected looks told their story ; all those who were not too deeply implicated departed forthwith to provide for their safety. Catesby and the others then, in the vain hope of raising the catholics of Wales and the adjoining counties, went to Norbrook, and thence to Huddington and Holbeach, a house of Stephen Littleton's. Their number was now reduced by desertion to about sixty men ; the catholic gentry drove them from their doors with reproaches ; the common people merely gazed on them as they passed. At Holbeach Digby and Stephen Littleton privately left them, but the former was seized at Dudley. As they were drying some of their powder which had been wetted, a burning coal fell into it, and Catesby and some others were much injured. In the night Robert Winter slunk away. Next day (8th), about noon, the sheriff arrived with the *posse comitatus*, and surrounding the house summoned them to surrender ; on their refusal he ordered an assault. Thomas Winter and the two Wrights were wounded ; Catesby and Percy placing themselves back to back were shot through the bodies by two balls from one musket ; the former died instantly, the latter next day ; Rookwood was also severely wounded, and the whole party were made prisoners. Robert Winter and Stephen Littleton, after concealing themselves for about two months, were betrayed by the cook at Hagley House, the abode of Mrs. Littleton, a widow lady.

The apprehension of Fawkes did not affect Tresham like the others. He appeared openly in the streets, and even went to the council and offered his services against the rebels. On the 12th, however, he was arrested and committed to the Tower. It is probable that the object of the council was to extract evidence from him against the jesuits, and in this they partially succeeded ; but soon after his committal he was attacked by a fatal disease, and he died on the 27th of December. The catholic writers of course ascribe his death to poison, but the fact of his wife and his

servant being with him during the whole of his illness suffices to confute them.

Fawkes was at first sullen, but on the 8th of November he made a full confession, concealing however the names of his associates, whom however next day he named to lord Salisbury. It is highly probable that, according to custom, the rack had been applied to him. On the 15th those taken at Holbeach reached London. They were all examined frequently, and from what was elicited from them, especially Bates, a proclamation was issued (Jan. 16, 1606) against the jesuits Garnet, Greenway, and Gerard.

On the 27th, sir Everard Digby, the two Winters, Fawkes, Grant, Rookwood, Keyes, and Bates, were brought to trial before a special commission, composed of privy councillors and judges. The principal evidence against them were their own confessions, but there could not be a shadow of doubt respecting their guilt. Sentence of death was passed, and on the 30th Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates were hanged and quartered at the west end of St. Paul's churchyard. The next day Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Fawkes, and Keyes were executed opposite the parliament-house.

The jesuit Gerard escaped from Harwich to the continent. Greenway disguised himself and came to London, where, as he was standing one day in a crowd, reading the proclamation, he was recognised by a man who followed and arrested him. He affected to go with him cheerfully, but in a private street he flung him off, and made his escape to Essex, and at last got over to Flanders. Henry Garnet, the superior of the jesuits in England, had concealed himself at Hendlip Hall, the seat of Mr. Abington, near Worcester. A hint however having been given that some jesuits were concealed there, the house was surrounded on the 20th of January by sir Henry Bromley; but so well contrived were the places of concealment, that it was not till the eighth day that Garnet and another jesuit, named Hall or Oldcorne, were discovered. They were brought up

to London and committed to the Tower, where Garnet was treated with extraordinary mildness: their examinations before the council were frequent, but he would confess nothing. A practice by no means uncommon (one which indeed yet continues) was then resorted to; Garnet and Oldcorne were told by their keeper that there was a concealed door between their cells, through which they might converse. Two persons were meantime so placed as to be able to hear what they said, and this led to important discoveries. It was Garnet's principle to deny, and that even with oaths and solemn asseverations, everything with which he was charged, until he found it useless to do so any longer. For this he has been justly but perhaps too severely blamed. It is a maxim of the law of England that no man is bound to accuse himself*; at the present day a prisoner is cautioned against replying to questions tending to implicate him; and on his trial, by the general plea of 'Not guilty,' he in effect denies the whole charge against him. Garnet, in reality, did no more than this; fear of the torture (to which however he was never subjected) prevented his being silent, and his denials of the charges against him were the natural result of the desire not to be accessory to his own death.

From Garnet's own confessions, and the evidence of others, it was proved that, in June 1604, he learned from Catesby or Winter, that there was a plot in hand; and in the June of the following year Catesby inquired of him respecting the lawfulness of destroying some innocent catholics in a plan designed for the promotion of the catholic religion, to which he gave an affirmative reply. Shortly after the whole plot was revealed to him by Greenway (not in confession, as he said at first), with whom he continued to converse from time to time respecting the progress of it. So many other convincing facts appeared, or were proved, as can leave no reasonable doubt of Garnet's participation in the treason. He was tried on the 28th of

* "Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum."—*Magna Charta*.

March by a jury of citizens of London, in presence of the earl of Salisbury and other commissioners, and was found guilty; and on the 3rd of May he was hung on a gallows in St. Paul's churchyard. By the express order of the king he was not cut down for the further operation of his sentence until he was quite dead. He has been canonised by his church, and his name now figures in the Roman martyrology.*

In the whole course of history an instance more demonstrative of the baleful effects of false religion on the mind and heart is not to be found than this plot. A more horrible design never was conceived; yet those who engaged in it were mostly men of mild manners, correct lives, and independent fortunes,—all, we may say, actuated by no ignoble motive, but firmly believing that they were doing good service to God. “I am satisfied,” said John Grant on the day of his execution, “that our project was so far from being sinful, that I rely on my merits in bearing a part of that noble action as an abundant satisfaction and expiation for all sins committed by me during the rest of my life.” “Nothing grieves me,” said Robert Winter to Fawkes, “but that there is not an apology made by some to justify our doing in this business; but our deaths will be a sufficient justification of it, and it is for God's cause.” It is said by Greenway, that as Rookwood was drawn to execution, his wife stood at an open window in the Strand, comforting him and telling him “to be of good courage,

* Miracles of course were required. A new species of grass, therefore, grew on the spot where he last stood in Hendlip lawn. It was in the form of an imperial crown, and the cattle never touched it. A spring of oil burst forth on the spot where he was martyred. But the chief miracle was ‘Garnet's Straw’. This was an ear of the straw used at his execution, which a young catholic picked up, and on which there appeared the face of the martyr. The story made such a noise that the council inquired into it; it appeared of course to have been a pious fraud. Garnet was addicted to intemperance, a habit likely to grow on one in his situation. There were also insinuations made against him and a lady named Anne Vaux, who was his constant companion wherever he went. We, however, believe that lady's character to have been without stain, and regard her as a single-minded devotee.

inasmuch as he suffered for a great and noble cause." Of the truth of this, however, we are rather dubious; fear alone would, we apprehend, prevent her from giving utterance to such expressions.

The English catholics, it is well known, were divided into two almost hostile parties, the jesuited and that of the secular priests. The conspirators were all of the former party, and the latter, who had been utterly ignorant of the plot, were unanimous, loud, and we have no doubt, sincere in the abhorrence which they expressed at it. Digby, in a letter to his lady, laments to find that the cause for which he had sacrificed everything was disapproved of by catholics and priests, and that that which brought him to his death was considered by them to be a great sin. But these innocent catholics had their share in the penalty, for a new and more severe penal code was enacted. The lords Montague, Mordaunt, and Stourton were imprisoned and fined for their suspicious absence from parliament. The earl of Northumberland was fined 30,000*l.*, deprived of his offices, and adjudged to remain for life a prisoner in the Tower.

A favourite object of the king, ever since his accession, had been the effecting of a union (a legislative one it would appear) between his two kingdoms. The measure was submitted to the parliaments of both countries, but national prejudices and jealousies were too strong to permit so desirable a measure to be then effected; and all that could be obtained was the abolition of the laws in which each treated the other as strangers and enemies, and a decision of the English judges, declaring the *postnati*, or Scots born since the king's accession, to be natural subjects of the king of England.

During the six succeeding years of James's reign (1607–1612) little occurred to disturb the national tranquillity, though the king and the house of commons still went on bickering; *he* straining every nerve to obtain money unconditionally,—*they* struggling to secure in return an abolition of purveyance, wardship, and other feudal oppres-

sions. The king meantime chiefly attended to his hunting and his writing; the task of supplying his lavish expenditure fell to Salisbury, now lord treasurer, like his father, but with a very different sovereign, and a far more refractory parliament to manage. His health appears to have given way under his mental anxiety, and he died at Marlborough, (May 24, 1612,) as he was returning from Bath, where he had been to try the waters. His character was that of a sagacious, prudent statesman; but he wanted the high principle and honourable feeling of his great father. "He was," says Bacon, "a more fit man to keep things from getting worse, but no very fit man to reduce things to be better."

Toward the close of the year 1612 the king and country were deprived of the heir-apparent, prince Henry. His death caused little grief to James, who looked on him rather as a rival than as a son; and the prince made no secret of the contempt in which he held his father, whose character was the opposite of his own in every respect. Henry was zealous in his attachment to the reformed faith*; he abstained from costly and immoral pleasures and excesses; his delight was in athletic and martial exercises. When one time the French ambassador came to take leave of him, he found him handling the pike. "Tell your king," said the prince, "how you left me engaged." He greatly admired sir Walter Raleigh. "Sure no king but my father," he used to say, "would keep such a bird in a cage." He died (Nov. 6) in the 18th year of his age, of a fever, the consequence of excessive and injudicious exercise. His death was of course imputed by the people to poison: the earl of Rochester, the royal favourite, was the person charged, and some even suspected the king himself, how unjustly we need not say†.

* The puritan zealots had great hopes from this prince; the following rhymes were current among the people:

Henry the eighth pull'd down abbeys and cells,
But Henry the ninth shall pull down bishops and bells.

† Of the real cause of his death there cannot be the slightest doubt; yet

The death of prince Henry was a subject of general regret, and it is a curious question how far it was a misfortune or otherwise to the nation. It has sometimes struck us, that had he come to the throne, animated as he was by a martial spirit, he would have entered vigorously into the defence of the Elector Palatine and the prosecution of a war with Spain; and that to obtain supplies from parliament he would, like the great Edwards, have made the needful concessions in favour of liberty, and that thus the civil war might have been averted. But it was not in this manner that the liberties of England were to be secured; they were to pass through the fire of civil discord.

James, with his habitual aversion to gloom, forbade any one to approach him in mourning; he would not allow the preparations for the Christmas revels to be interrupted; and in the following February (1613) he celebrated with extraordinary splendour the nuptials of his only daughter, Elizabeth, with Frederick the count palatine of the Rhine. The princess was only in her sixteenth year.

A lady of high rank was at this time paying the penalty of her proximity to the throne. Arabella Stuart had, though expressly forbidden by the king, given her hand in secret to sir William Seymour, son of lord Beauchamp*. As both were descended from Henry VII., the king's jealousy took alarm, and *he* was committed to the Tower, *she* to the house of sir Thomas Parry, at Lambeth. They were however permitted by their keepers to have secret interviews, and the king then ordered that Arabella should be removed to Durham. She refused to leave her chamber, but she was taken out of it by force. James however allowed her to remain a month at Highgate for her health. While there she disguised herself in man's attire,

Dr. Vaughan tries to insinuate the guilt of the favourite, and as it would appear even of the king.

* Lord Beauchamp was the son of lord Hertford and lady Catherine Grey (see above, page 162). Alliance with the blood-royal was fatal to this family.

and rode to Blackwall, and then went down the river to where a French bark lay ready, and got aboard. Seymour meantime, disguised as a physician, made his way out of the Tower, and entered a boat which was to convey him to the bark ; but the French captain, fearing to wait, had set sail in spite of Arabella's entreaties. Seymour got over to Flanders in a collier ; the bark was taken off the Nore, and Arabella was immured in the Tower. To her petitions for liberty James replied, that "as she had tasted of the forbidden fruit she must pay the forfeit of her disobedience." The harsh treatment which she experienced deprived her of reason, and she died in the fourth year of her confinement, the victim of that odious policy of state, which, on the plea of self-preservation, tramples on all the principles of nature and justice. It is remarkable that Arabella's husband was afterwards, as marquess of Hertford, one of the most devoted adherents of the son of her persecutor.

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CHAPTER II.

JAMES I. (CONTINUED).

1613—1625.

Somerset and lady Essex.—Sir Walter Raleigh.—The Elector Palatine.—Fall of Bacon.—The Spanish match.—Prince of Wales in Spain.—Breach with the court of Spain.—Death and character of James.—Affairs of Ireland;—of Scotland.—State of religion.—Book of Sports.

It is time now that we should proceed to notice a remarkable feature in the character of this feeble monarch—his favouritism. To this he had been addicted from his earliest days; and it is rather curious, that he, the most slovenly of men in his own person, should have been as fastidious as even the late queen about the looks and dress of those who were about him. A few years before the time of which we now write, on the occasion of a tilting-match, lord Hay, one of the Scottish nobles, selected a youth of the border family of the Kerrs for his equerry. Robert Kerr or Carr was now about twenty years of age, tall and handsome, and but just returned from his travels. It was his office to present his lord's shield and device to the king; and as he was about to perform it, his horse became unruly and threw him. His leg was broken in the fall, and James, affected by his youth and beauty, had him removed to a room in the palace, where he visited him after the tilt. The visits were frequently renewed; the youth gradually won the heart of the king, who resolved to make of him a scholar, a statesman, and a man of wealth and rank. The last was easy; to effect the former he himself became his tutor in Latin and his lecturer in politics. While Salisbury lived, the favourite, though laden with wealth and raised to the dignity of viscount Rochester, took no part in affairs of state; but after the death of that minister, the duties of

his offices were devolved for some time on the new viscount. Rochester, from the outset of his career, had the good sense to select an able adviser in the person of sir Thomas Overbury, a man of talent and judgement, but ambitious and insolent, and little encumbered with scruples. His prudence, however, kept his patron's bark steady before the wind, and his voyage might have been prosperous to the end had it not struck on the rock of illicit love*.

The young earl of Essex, as we have seen, had been restored in honour and estate at the king's accession; and Salisbury, whose own eldest son was married to a daughter of the earl of Suffolk, in order to increase his influence by family connexion, proposed a match between her sister, the lady Frances, and young Essex. No objections being made, the marriage took place, the bridegroom being fourteen years of age, the bride his junior by a year. Immediately after the ceremony the young husband was sent to travel on the continent; the bride was committed to the care of her mother, who, instead of keeping her in the seclusion appropriate to her situation, adorned her with the showy accomplishments of the age, and took her to court. Here her beauty and her graces became the subject of general admiration; prince Henry is said to have cast an eye of favour on the lovely young countess; but Rochester, by the aid of letters composed for him by Overbury, won her heart, and ere long, it is said, she made him a secret surrender of her modesty.

When Essex returned, at the age of eighteen, and claimed his privileges, he was received by his lady with distaste and aversion. Her parents obliged her to live with him, but she persisted in denying him his conjugal rights, for she thought so long as she did that she could not properly be called his wife. A separation from him, and a marriage with Rochester, were now the objects of her wishes.

* The chief authority for the history of Somerset and the countess of Essex is a pamphlet, named, 'Truth brought to Light.' Implicit reliance, however, cannot be placed on its statements.

and the viscount was equally eager with herself for the union.

When Rochester informed Overbury of his design, the latter, who saw in it nothing but evil to his patron and ruin to himself, remonstrated in the strongest terms; he dwelt on the infamy of the countess's character, the odium and hazard of the attempt to obtain a divorce, and he finally threatened to abandon him if he persisted in his project. All this Rochester forthwith communicated to the countess. In her rage she offered 1000*l.* to a knight named sir David Wood, whom Overbury had injured, to assassinate him. Wood refused; Rochester then prevailed on the king to appoint Overbury his envoy to France or Russia. This office, at Rochester's secret instigation, he declined, saying that the king could not, in law or justice, send him into exile: for this contempt, as it was termed, he was committed to the Tower, where, after a confinement of about six months, he died suddenly.

Meanwhile the business of the divorce was proceeded with; the countess suing for it on the ground of bodily incapacity on the part of her husband. The king, to his disgrace, took a warm interest in it; and Essex, whether conscious of defect, or desirous to be released from a woman who hated him, made such admissions as gave a pretext to seven out of twelve of a court of delegates to yield to the wishes of the king and pronounce a sentence of divorce. Shortly after (Dec. 26) the fair adultress was married to her paramour (whom James, that she might not lose in rank, had previously created earl of Somerset) in the royal chapel, in presence of the king and queen, with extraordinary magnificence. The bride daringly appeared in the virgin costume of the day, her hair hanging in curls down to her waist. It may be that the king was not aware of the infamy of the parties; the favourite however had lately given him 25,000*l.* to relieve his necessities, and he hoped by this union to set him on good terms with the father and uncle of the bride.

The vengeance of Heaven, though delayed, is frequently sure, and the crimes of this guilty pair were destined to come to light. The qualities by which Somerset had won the royal favour soon began to decay ; his youthful bloom was fading, for conscience dimmed its lustre. Another object too had caught the unsteady affections of the king. George, one of the sons of sir George Villiers, of Brookesby, in Leicestershire, a tall handsome youth of about one-and-twenty, who had travelled a little, and spent a short time at the court of France, and whose taste in dress was exquisite, appeared at court, and the impression he made on the king's mind was at once perceptible, by his appointing him to the office of cup-bearer. The enemies of Somerset conceived the idea of setting up Villiers as his rival ; but James had formed a cunning plan of taking no one to his favour unless specially recommended by the queen ; " that if she should complain afterwards of the *dear one*, he might make answer, It is long of yourself, for you commended him unto me." The task of gaining the queen was committed to archbishop Abbot, and, after long refusing, she consented, with these prophetic words : " My lord, you know not what you desire. If Villiers gain the royal favour, we shall all be sufferers ; I shall not be spared more than others ; the king will teach him to treat us all with pride and contempt." Forthwith (Apr. 24, 1615) Villiers was sworn a gentleman of the privy chamber, and knighted. The king wished the two favourites to live in harmony, but Somerset haughtily spurned the advances of Villiers, and the court was soon divided into two parties.

Reports now were rife that Overbury had not come fairly by his end, and circumstances brought the guilt of it so near to the earl and countess that James directed chief justice Coke to make out a warrant for their committal. The king's hypocrisy on this occasion is almost incredible. Somerset took leave of him at Royston to go up to London, on a Friday (Aug. 1), promising to return on Monday. James, as usual, hung about his neck, and

slobbered his cheeks, declaring he should neither eat nor drink till he saw him again, adding, "For God's sake give thy lady this kiss for me." Yet the earl was not in his coach when the king said, "Now, the deil gae with thee, for I will never see thy face mair."

A dreadful tissue of iniquity was speedily unravelled. It appeared that the countess had long been intimate with a Mrs. Turner, the widow of a physician, a woman of infamous character, and was by her made acquainted with one Dr. Forman, a pretended conjurer, who supplied her with means for preventing the earl of Essex from consummating his marriage, and with philtres for attaching the viscount; that Mrs. Turner had recommended one Weston, who had been her husband's bailiff, as a fit person for their designs on Overbury, and sir Gervase Elways, the lieutenant of the Tower, a creature of Somerset's, was made to appoint him to attend on the prisoner; and Northampton, the abettor of his niece's depravity, assuring Elways that what was to be done had the king's approbation, engaged him to wink at the attempts that Weston might make on the prisoner's life. The course adopted was to mingle slow poisons with Overbury's food; but these not succeeding, Weston gave him a poisonous clyster, which had the desired effect. He was buried immediately, Northampton averring to the king that he had died of an odious disorder caused by his vices. Some time after, the apothecary's boy who had assisted Weston in giving the clyster, being at Flushing, talked freely of the matter, and his information being conveyed to sir Ralph Winwood, the secretary of state, inquiry was set on foot by the king, and all the suspected persons were arrested. Weston made an ample confession, and he, one Franklin, and Mrs Turner*, were executed at

* This unfortunate woman had introduced a kind of yellow starch for stiffening ruffs, bands, etc. Bishop Warburton says she wore a yellow ruff at her execution; but one who was present (Goodman's Court of James I., ii. 146) says she expressed a "detestation of painted pride, lust, malice, powdered hair, *yellow bands*, and the rest of the wardrobe of court vanities." Ac-

Tyburn, and Elways on Tower-hill. The countess, when arraigned, pleaded guilty; Somerset, who was perhaps innocent*, defended himself stoutly for the space of eleven hours, but he was found guilty by his peers (July 11th, 1616). The king granted a pardon to the countess, the execution of the earl's sentence was suspended, and some years after it was reversed. They were allowed to retire to the country, with an allowance of 4000*l.* a year, where they lived in misery, hating and shunning each other. The countess died (of a loathsome disease it is said) in 1632, the earl lived till 1645.

Shortly after these trials, sir Edward Coke, the chief justice, who had given offence by his conduct on them, and by his vigorous maintenance of the authority of the law of the land against the encroachments of the prerogative, was dismissed from his high office. In effecting this, the arts of sir Francis Bacon, the attorney-general and his rival, were of great efficacy. This extraordinary man, who united the noblest genius with the meanest soul, who was the first philosopher and statesman, and at the same time one of the most servile flatterers of his age, was made, on the death of lord Ellesmere, lord keeper, and afterwards chancellor, and he thus attained the summit of his ambition.

Sir Walter Raleigh was now at liberty, for the new favourite had been induced to exert his interest in his behalf, and he was liberated after a confinement of thirteen years. But he was poor; his property had been seized when he was condemned; and the manor of Sherbourn, which, be-

According to sir Simon D'Ewes, the hangman wore yellow bands and cuffs, of course in derision of the criminal. Yellow starch went out of fashion for a few years.

* Dr. Lingard appears to believe in the innocence of Somerset. He also, we think, sufficiently accounts for the anxiety of James to prevail on him to confess, without, like Dr. Vaughan, attempting to fix an odious imputation on the royal character. Viewing Somerset's character and conduct on the whole, we cannot regard him as being naturally a bad man: Weldon speaks well of him.

fore the death of queen Elizabeth, he had conveyed to his eldest son, was also lost, for a single word had been omitted in the deed of conveyance, and this omission was held to invalidate it. Lady Raleigh and her children threw themselves at the feet of the monarch, imploring him not to deprive them of their only support; but his unfeeling reply was, "I mun ha' the land, I mun ha' it for Carr"; for this minion had, as the phrase then was, *begged* it. James, however, gave her, by way of compensation, 8000*l.*, for what was said to be worth 5000*l.* a year.

It will be recollected that Raleigh had already made an unsuccessful voyage to Guiana. His imagination still ran on the gold mines which he fancied that region to contain; even while in prison he had kept up his claims to it, by sending out small expeditions; and he now proposed to fit out an expedition at the expense of himself and his friends, the king to receive the usual fifth of the gold and silver to be thence imported. The avarice of James was tempted, but he had long had an anxious desire to unite his house in marriage with the royal line of Spain, whom he therefore feared to offend, and who he knew hated and dreaded Raleigh. Moreover, Gondomar, the Spanish resident, had by his wit and his adroit flattery gained a most undue influence over the royal mind. The moment he heard of the rumoured expedition, he remonstrated with the king; James assured him that he would not give Raleigh a pardon, so that his former sentence would still hang over him; and that if he made any attack on the Spanish settlements, he would either have him executed or deliver him up on his return. Gondomar affected to be satisfied; he learned from the king all the particulars of the expedition, which he transmitted to Spain; and directions were sent out to the Spaniards in Guiana to oppose Raleigh when he arrived.

After a delay of nearly a year Raleigh sailed (1617) from Plymouth with fourteen vessels. Misfortunes befel him from the very outset; two of his ships quitted him, a num-

ber of his men perished by a contagious disease, which brought himself to death's door. At length, in November, he reached the mouth of the Orinoco, up which river he sent five of his vessels, each containing fifty men, under captain Kemys, who professed to have discovered the mine in one of the former voyages, giving him strict orders not to molest the Spaniards; for it is to be observed, that since Raleigh had been last there, and had taken possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, the Spaniards had settled there, and built a sort of town, named St. Thomas. As the English passed this place they were attacked by the Spaniards in the night; but they repelled the assailants, pursued them to the town, and took it. In the action Raleigh's eldest son and the Spanish governor, a near kinsman of Gondomar's, were slain. They then proceeded up the river in search of the mine, but to no purpose; and having suffered severely from an ambuscade of the Spaniards, they returned to Raleigh, who, aware of the full extent of the mischief that had been done, reproached Kemys so bitterly with his conduct, that he retired to his cabin and put an end to himself. Raleigh was soon compelled to return home by a mutiny among his men, and he arrived at Plymouth in the beginning of July 1618. The king was exasperated; Gondomar claimed, and was promised vengeance, and a proclamation was issued against Raleigh; this he learned at Kinsale in Ireland, and yet he proceeded to Plymouth, and was on his way to London, when he was arrested by his kinsman sir Lewis Stukeley. It is the statement of Raleigh's son, that the earls of Arundel and Pembroke were bound to the king for his return, and that to free them from this engagement he thus surrendered himself. But when he had exonerated them he thought himself justified in making his escape if he could; accident or treachery, however, foiled all his attempts, and he was once more consigned to the Tower. He was now subjected to various examinations; and to sir Thomas Wilson, keeper of the state papers, a man of more learning and

talent than honour and virtue, was committed the odious office of endeavouring, under the aspect of mildness and sympathy, to draw out of him a confession of a treasonable intercourse with the French agent. In this, however, he failed, as the prisoner was perfectly innocent on that head.

About the middle of October a letter arrived from the king of Spain, expressing his wish that Raleigh should be executed in England, rather than given up to him. Accordingly a privy seal was directed to the judges of the king's bench, commanding them to proceed to execution against sir Walter Raleigh, under his former sentence. When the prisoner was required to show cause against it, he submitted that his majesty's commission giving him power of life and death over others amounted to a pardon. This plea was overruled by the chief justice, execution was granted, and on the 29th of October the aged warrior was conducted to a scaffold in Old Palace Yard. There were present several of the nobility: sir Walter spoke with his usual calmness and courage, clearing himself from all the charges made against him. Respecting the earl of Essex, his words were, "I take God to witness I had no hand in his blood, and was none of those that procured his death. I shed tears for him when he died." The dean of Westminster asking him in what faith he meant to die, he said, "In the faith professed by the church of England, and that he hoped to be saved, and have his sins washed away by the precious blood and merits of our Saviour Christ." When he had put off his gown and doublet, he asked the executioner to let him see the axe. He poised it, and running his thumb along the edge, said with a smile, "This is a sharp medicine, but it will cure all diseases." The executioner going blindfold him, he refused, saying, "Think you I fear the shadow of the axe, when I fear not the axe itself?" He gave the signal by stretching out his hands, and his head was struck off in two blows. "Every man," says a witness, who saw sir Walter Raleigh die, said it was impossible to

show more decorum, courage, or piety, and that his death would do more hurt to the faction that sought it than ever his life could have done."

Sir Walter Raleigh died in the sixty-sixth year of his age. In his character were united the warrior, the statesman, the courtier, and the man of letters and science. Were it not that his imagination occasionally predominated over his judgement, he might have easily been the first man of his age. His death is an indelible stain on the character of the king, who betrayed him to the Spaniards, and then put him to death*, after he had virtually pardoned him, and on a charge of which he must have known him to be innocent. The panegyrists of the contemptible monarch (Hume in the van) have sought to blacken the character of his victim, but their calumnies have been amply refuted†, and with all his faults sir Walter Raleigh is to be numbered among England's most illustrious sons.

The queen, who had vainly tried to interest the favourite for Raleigh, died early in the following year (1619). In the very same year a crown was offered to her son-in-law. The privileges which had been secured by imperial edicts to the Bohemian protestants having been violated by the emperor Matthias, they had recourse to arms, and on his death refused to acknowledge his successor, Ferdinand of Austria, as king of Bohemia. They offered the crown to the elector of Saxony, and on his refusal, to the elector Palatine, who imprudently accepted it, and was crowned (Nov. 4) at Prague. His father-in-law, though ignorant of the Bohemian constitution (by which the crown was elective), at once pronounced the Bohemians rebels, and

* Marriage treaties with Spain seemed to require the cement of innocent blood. Witness Warwick and Raleigh.

† See Cayley and Tytler. Mr. Hallam seems to think ill of Raleigh, but without giving his reasons. This able writer has, however, what appears to us an unfair habit of judging the men of the sixteenth by the maxims of the nineteenth century, and a kind of prejudice against Elizabeth and her great men, Essex (perhaps the least great) excepted. That Lingard should be adverse to Raleigh was to be expected; he was the foe of Spain.

ordered him to resign the crown; but the people of England exulted at the prospect offered of an increase of strength to the protestant cause, and were urgent with the king to aid the elector in his contest with the house of Austria. James was now sadly hampered between his love of peace, his high notions of the divine rights of kings, and his anxiety to procure an infant for his son, on the one hand, and his family feeling and the clamours of his subjects on the other. He had recourse to the usual refuge of weak minds, a middle course; he mediated and negotiated; he allowed sir Horace Vere to raise a regiment of 2400 men, for the defence of the palatinate. But all was in vain; a decisive defeat under the walls of Prague (Nov. 4, 1620) deprived the elector of his crown, and his hereditary dominions were rapidly conquered by Spinola, the general of the king of Spain. He and his family retired to the Hague, where they lived in poverty, and king James was to the end of his life occupied in fruitless negotiations for the restoration of the palatinate.

The affairs of the palatinate, and the expense caused by them, obliged the king to call a parliament (1621). One of the first matters to which the commons turned their attention was the old grievance of monopolies, and the practice of impeachment was revived. Sir Giles Monpesson, who had patents for the manufacture of gold and silver thread, and for licensing inns and alehouses, in which he and his agent, Sir Francis Mitchell, had been guilty of great fraud and oppression, was the first object of attack. Monpesson escaped to the continent; but the lords condemned both him and Mitchell to be fined and imprisoned, and to lose their knighthood. But a far higher head than these was to be abased by this parliament. Articles of impeachment were exhibited against the viscount of St. Alban's (as Bacon was now styled) for bribery and corruption in his high office of chancellor (Mar. 21). From his bed, to which he had taken, he wrote to the lords confessing the truth of the charges.

He was sentenced to pay a fine of 40,000*l.*, be imprisoned during pleasure, and be incapacitated from approaching the court, sitting in parliament, or holding any office of dignity or profit. The king remitted the fine, and gave him his liberty; and the remaining five years of his life were chiefly occupied with abject efforts to recover the favour of the court. In his defence it was alleged that it had long been the usage for the chancellor to accept presents from suitors; but it was replied that no precedents could justify so pernicious a practice. The unanimity with which he was condemned, and his not daring to make a defence, would seem to intimate that he had far outgone his predecessors. Yet Bacon was not an avaricious man; it was his love of show, his want of economy, and his easiness to his servants and dependents that obliged him to have recourse to all modes of obtaining money. It is also said that he could have defended himself; but that, as his defence would have contained disclosures of matters which the king wished to remain unknown, promises were made him to induce him to refrain from that course.

The session terminated in a quarrel between the king and the commons. They drew up a petition praying him to engage vigorously in the defence of the palatine; to make war on Spain; to marry his son to a protestant princess; to enforce the laws against papists. On obtaining a copy of the petition, he expressed the utmost indignation, and wrote to the speaker, complaining of the "fiery, popular, and turbulent spirits" in the house, who presumed to meddle with mysteries of state, things beyond their capacity. The house in reply, intimated that they were entitled to interpose in matters relating to the dignity and safety of the throne and kingdom. Their liberty of speech was, they said, their ancient and undoubted right, an inheritance transmitted from their ancestors. When the approach of the committee with this address was notified to James, he ordered twelve chairs to be brought, for so many kings he said were a-coming. In his answer, he

wished that they had rather said that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself, for most of them had grown from precedent, which rather shows toleration than inheritance. If, however, they did not encroach on the prerogative, he assured them he would be careful to maintain their lawful liberties and privileges. This produced a memorable protestation on the part of the commons, that their privileges were their birthright and inheritance; that affairs of state are proper subjects of counsel and debate in parliament; and that the members have a right to freedom of speech, and should not be molested for anything said or done in the house, except by censure of the house itself. The king tore this protest with his own hands from the journals, and published his reasons for so doing. He dissolved the parliament forthwith, and he committed some of the most prominent members to prison, and sent others on a commission to Ireland by way of punishment.

The Spanish match was the object nearest to James's heart. Philip III. had kept the matter hanging for years in the hope of obtaining conditions which might lead to the re-establishment of popery in England. On his death (1622), James hoped that with the young king, Philip IV., a more speedy arrangement might be effected, and he sent the able and experienced lord Digby (soon after earl of Bristol), who had been already three times his minister at Madrid, once more ambassador to Spain. He also despatched an envoy to the pope, and he relaxed the penal laws, discharging a great number of the recusants from prison. Philip, who was evidently sincere, exerted himself to procure a dispensation at Rome, and James and his son subscribed the religious articles respecting the infanta, after they had been seen and corrected at the Vatican; they also pledged themselves that the persecution against the catholics should cease if they only performed their worship in private houses. Everything seemed now ar-

ranged, when a romantic adventure of the prince came to disconcert the whole project.

Villiers, who was now marquess of Buckingham, was haughty and insolent, but open and sincere; a zealous friend, and a violent enemy; utterly devoid of prudence, and incapable of restraining his passions. In the heyday of his favour he had not hesitated to let the prince of Wales taste of his insolence; and that prince, who was of a cold, proud, reserved temper, felt this deeply, and testified his displeasure in strong terms. A gleam of prudence, however, probably suggested to Buckingham that, as the king was growing old, and he was himself a young man, his situation might not be an enviable one under the successor, unless he had previously appeased him. He therefore bent all his endeavours to effect this object, and he succeeded so completely, that he soon stood even higher with the prince than with the king, who was now rather weary of his insolence.

Buckingham now took an opportunity of remarking to the prince how slowly the treaty for his marriage went on, and how much it might be accelerated by his own presence at the court of Madrid, by which advantages respecting the palatinate and other matters might also be obtained. The prince's imagination was kindled, and Buckingham then proposed that they two, with a few attendants, should travel in disguise to Madrid. Charles gave a ready consent; he threw himself on his knees before his father; and having made a previous condition that he would not consult with any one on what he was going to request, craved his permission to undertake the journey. Buckingham, who was present, backed the suit, and the king gave a reluctant consent.

But when James was left to himself and had time to reflect calmly on the matter, he saw it in its true form of absurdity and danger both to the person of the prince and to his own reputation; and when they came to him next

day for their despatches, he began to explain to them the various cogent reasons which had made him resolve to retract his consent. The prince remonstrated with dutiful submission and shedding tears; but Buckingham, who was used to deal with him in a different way, told him that no one in future would believe anything he said, that he had contrary to his promise revealed the matter to some rascal who had furnished him with these pitiful reasons, but that he would find out who this counsellor was, and that the prince could never forget his disappointment or forgive the author of it. The weak monarch, thus bullied, renewed his consent; and it was agreed that sir Francis Cottington, the prince's secretary, and Endymion Porter, a gentleman of his bedchamber, (both of whom were well acquainted with Spain) should alone accompany them. Cottington was forthwith sent for. "He will be opposed to the journey," whispered Buckingham to the prince. "He dares not," was the reply. When he came, the king having told him that he was going to be entrusted with a secret which he must not reveal to any one, added, "Here is baby Charles and Steeny*, who have a great mind to go post into Spain and fetch home the infanta. They will have but two more in their company, and have chosen you for one. What think you of the journey?" Cottington urged sundry objections; the king threw himself on his bed weeping, and crying, "I told you this before," and lamenting and exclaiming that he was undone, and should lose baby Charles. Buckingham fell to reviling and threatening Cottington, but the king said, "Nay, by God, Steeny, you are much to blame for using him so. He answered me directly to the question I asked him, and very honestly and wisely; and yet

* These were James's familiar names for the prince and Buckingham. He called the latter Steeny, from a fancied resemblance between his countenance and that of St. Stephen, in the pictures of that saint. James used to style himself their *dad*; and Buckingham seems to have termed himself the *dog* of the royal family, for as such he subscribes himself in his letters to the king; and the queen addresses him as "My kind Dogge," in her letter requesting him to intercede for Raleigh.

you know he said no more than I told you before he was called in*.”

All ended in the king's renewing his consent. The prince and marquess went (Feb. 17, 1623) to a house of the latter's in Essex; whence, attended by his master of the horse, sir Richard Graham, and furnished with false beards and periwigs, they proceeded to Dover, where they were joined by Cottington and Porter. Under the assumed names of Jack and Tom Smith they passed over to Boulogne and proceeded to Paris, where they stopped one day and saw the king, the queen-mother, and the princess Henrietta at dinner, and again at a masked ball to which they were admitted in the evening. They travelled rapidly through France, and on the evening of the 7th of March, they reached Madrid, having left their attendants a day's journey behind. They went straight to Bristol's house; the prince stayed in the street while Buckingham went in bearing the portmanteau. Bristol is said to have evinced little surprise at their appearance, having already had some suspicion of their design from conversations with Gondomar, who appears to have been the real author of the project, which he suggested to Buckingham. The next day the arrival of the prince being notified at court, he was waited on by the prime minister, the count-duke of Olivarez, and in the evening the king in person came to visit him. Nothing could exceed the respect with which he was treated; the king everywhere gave him precedence; he was presented, after the Spanish manner, with two golden keys to the royal apartments; the council were ordered to obey him; the prisons were thrown open, and all sumptuary laws were suspended.

Our limits do not permit of our entering into the details of the prince's abode in Spain. Numbers of the English nobility repaired thither to attend the son of their king; and though for some time he was not given access to the infanta and could only get a sight of her at a dis-

* See Clarendon (l. 30), who had the account from Cottington himself.

tance, the negotiation for the marriage was proceeded in with good faith by the Spanish court. They were not, however, without hopes of his conversion; the pope himself wrote to him, and the reply of Charles was conceived in such terms as must have given good hopes of a change of his faith*; yet Charles was at no time given to change in religion or anything else, and we fear that we must view his conduct, on this occasion, as an instance of the duplicity and insincerity which characterised him through life. The pontiff added some more articles to the dispensation, the most important of which was, that the children should be educated by their mother till they were ten years of age. The articles were transmitted to London, and were sworn to by the king and council; James also swore privately to others for tolerating the catholics. But the death of the pontiff now caused new delays, and Buckingham had by this time resolved to break off the match. He regarded Bristol as his political rival, and he was jealous of the consideration with which he was treated; he had had several quarrels with Olivarez: the Spaniards, on the other hand, viewed with disgust his shameless profligacy, his arrogant temper, and the want of respect and decorum in his conduct toward the prince. He was also anxious to get back to the English court, where he found that he had more enemies than he had suspected.

James, under pretext of the new delay, was induced to send an order for the return of the prince. It was now arranged that a procuration should be left with Bristol to be delivered after the arrival of the dispensation; that the espousals should take place before Christmas, and the prince be represented by Philip himself or his brother Don Carlos. The infanta took the title of princess of England, and a suitable court was formed for her. Buckingham, as

* "The letter to the pope is by your favour more than compliment; which I never saw before, and may be a warning that nothing is to be done or said in that nice argument but what will endure the light." It is thus that Clarendon writes of it to secretary Nicholas.—Clarendon State Papers, ii. 337.

lord high-admiral, having gone before to see that the fleet was ready, Charles took a solemn leave of the queen and the infanta; Philip accompanied him on his way as far as the Escorial, and they parted as brothers. Several of the Spanish grandees attended Charles to St. Andero, where he embarked; and on the 5th of October he landed safely at Portsmouth, to the great joy of the king and the nation.

The dispensation came from Rome on the 12th of November. Philip appointed the 29th for the espousals, and the 9th of December for the marriage; the nobility were invited to attend, the towns and cities of Spain were commanded to make public rejoicings, when couriers came from England to lord Bristol, ordering him not to deliver the proxy, to prepare to return to England, and to tell Philip that James would only go on with the marriage on condition of his giving a pledge to take up arms in defence of the palatinate. Philip justly complained of the indignity thus offered him; the orders for the marriage were recalled; and the infanta with tears laid down her new title. Bristol, on his return, was ordered to remain at his country-seat and to consider himself a prisoner, and thus at once fell down the edifice which James had been so many years erecting.

In all this it is easy to discern the influence of Buckingham, but the Spaniards were the dupes of their own artifices. They had protracted the negotiations for years in the hope of extorting the most favourable terms possible for the catholic religion in England. Their object was certainly a laudable one, for it evinced a zeal for what they regarded as the truth; but their zeal carried them too far, and they injured rather than served their co-religionists. As for prince Charles, it had perhaps been fortunate for him if he had married the infanta, for his subsequent misfortunes may, in a great measure, be ascribed to the influence of his queen.

With the large dower of the Spanish princess, James had hoped to relieve his pecuniary embarrassments; but

that hope being gone, no resource remained but to summon a parliament. To this measure, when urged by the prince and Buckingham, he gave an unwilling consent, and when parliament met (Feb. 24, 1624) he addressed it, submitting the late negotiations and all other matters to its consideration. On the subject of religion, he required them to judge him charitably as they would be judged, adding that he had certainly, on sundry occasions, relaxed the severity of the penal laws; but as to dispensing with or altering them, "I never," he cried, "promised nor yielded; I never thought it with my heart, nor spoke it with my mouth." This daring falsehood he uttered in the presence of his son and Buckingham, who well knew his oath to the secret articles of the marriage treaty!

A few days after Buckingham addressed the two houses, the prince standing by to prompt him and vouch for the truth of what he said. By the aid of downright falsehoods, of misrepresentations, of garbled extracts of despatches, he made out, to the satisfaction of those who were glad of any pretext for a quarrel with Spain, that the Spanish court had been insincere from first to last in the negotiation. An address was voted requesting the king to break off the treaties with the court of Madrid; Buckingham became a universal favourite; bonfires and public rejoicings testified the delight of the people at the prospect of a war with the papists. The king gave a reluctant consent to a war, and the commons voted a sum of 300,000*l.* for carrying it on, which, at the king's own desire, was to be paid into the hands of treasurers appointed by themselves.

Cranborne, earl of Middlesex, lord treasurer, was now impeached for bribery and other misdemeanours. He was a citizen of London, who had risen chiefly through the favour of Buckingham; but he had of late incurred his displeasure, and his patron and the prince now urged on his impeachment: the king, who saw further into matters than either of them, "told the duke that he was a fool and was cutting a rod for his own breech, and the prince that he

would live to have his belly-full of impeachments*," but they heeded him not: Middlesex was found guilty by the lords.

Toward the end of this year a treaty of marriage was effected between the prince of Wales and the princess Henrietta Maria, sister of the king of France. Unhappily for the house of Stuart, one of the articles was, that the queen should have the education of the children till they were thirteen years of age. James and his son, heedless of their late oaths† and protestations, also agreed to articles which nearly amounted to a toleration of the catholic religion.

The king thus at length succeeded in his darling object of obtaining a high match for his son; but he was not fated to witness his marriage. He died on the 27th of March in the following year (1625), after a fortnight's illness. His disorder was said to be tertian ague and gout in the stomach. He met his end with great constancy and devotion, charging his son to be steadfast in his religion and not to desert his sister and her children.

The character of this monarch was a strange mixture of sense and folly. On perusing his writings, one cannot fail to be struck with the shrewdness, sagacity, and good sense which they exhibit, yet ever and anon something occurs to prove that the author was not a wise man. It was, however, in his actions that James's folly most displayed itself, and here he forfeits all claims to respect. Wisdom in conduct is never, we believe, to be found where moral courage is absent, and this last usually requires physical courage for its support. In this James was notoriously deficient; and hence nothing great, little good, can be recorded of him. His treatment of Arabella Stuart was cowardly and

* Clarendon, i. 41.

† Charles had, a few months before, bound himself by oath, "That whensoever it should please God to bestow upon him any lady that were popish, she should have no further liberty but for her own family, and no advantage to the recusants at home." *Journal of Commons*, 756. *Lingard*, ix. 219.

cruel, that of Raleigh unjust and pusillanimous; in the case of the Somersets his conduct was disgraceful. In his habits James was filthy; he drank to excess, he swore and blasphemed in an odious manner; he had a nasty trick of kissing and beslobbering his favourites, that gave rise to surmises of improper familiarities, which, however, are without proof, and therefore are entitled to no credit*. In a word, with all his learning and his talents, it would be difficult to find a monarch less entitled to respect than James I.

The court of James was licentious and profligate to an extreme degree; and if we may believe the accounts of the time, even the court-ladies appeared in public in a state of beastly intoxication. The whole story of the Somersets presents a lamentable picture of aulic depravity. At the same time, the court was often the scene of great magnificence; and those stately masques, where Ben Jonson supplied the poetry, and Inigo Jones the machinery, far exceeded any of the court entertainments of succeeding times.

The history of the reign of James is more that of the court than of the nation. The most important national event which it contains is that of the colonisation of the north of Ireland, which we will now briefly relate.

On the suppression of the rebellion of the Desmonds in the late reign, their immense territories had become forfeit to the crown. A plan of colonisation was adopted, and the lands were parcelled out among undertakers (as they were named) at low rents. The grants, however, were too large and the conditions were not duly complied with; so that though Munster thus received a large accession of English blood (the stock of its nobility and gentry of the present

* Dr. Vaughan labours hard, on the authority chiefly of the French ambassador (Raumer, ii. 266-280), to fix this odious imputation on James. But, as Lingard well observes, "it requires more substantial proof than an obscure allusion in a petition, or the dark insinuation of a malicious libel, or the reports which reached a foreign and discontented ambassador."

day), the experiment was a failure. After the accession of James, the great northern chieftains O'Neal and O'Donnel fled to Spain, and their territories, amounting to half a million of acres, fell to the crown. The king and Bacon then devised a system of colonisation which was carried into effect by sir Arthur Chichester, the lord deputy. The grants were to be in three classes of 2000, 1500, and 1000 acres. Those who obtained the first were to build a castle and a *bawn* or strong court-yard ; the next a house of stone or brick and a bawn ; the third a bawn only. They were all bound to plant on their lands, in certain proportions, able-bodied men of English or Lowland-Scottish birth, who were to live in villages and not dispersedly. A portion of these lands was also granted to the native Irish. This was a noble plan ; and though, like everything designed for the benefit of that unhappy country, the cupidity and injustice of those who sought their profit in oppressing the natives, prevented its attaining its object fully, it has been productive of great and permanent benefit ; and what was formerly the wildest and most barbarous part of even Ireland, is now that which in industry and civilisation makes the nearest approach to England.

In the fifteenth year of his reign (1617) the king revisited his native realm. The chief object of his visit was to extend his power in matters of religion, and to seek to approximate the churches of England and Scotland. In this last country, between the avidity of the great lords, who had robbed the church of its landed property without shame or remorse, the fanatic spirit of the reformed preachers, and the feebleness of the crown, the ancient system of church government had been unable to keep its ground. Episcopacy had been formally abolished, and the republican form named Presbytery erected in its place. But man is still man, under all forms ; and the revolters against spiritual tyranny, pious and well-intentioned as they undoubtedly were, even exceeded the pretensions of their predecessors ; and since the days of Becket, Britain

had witnessed no such assumptions of immunity from civil jurisdiction as were put forth by Melville, Black, and other champions of the church and opposers of the crown in Scotland. Their conduct, however, having led to a tumult in Edinburgh, in which the king ran some risk, the parliament was induced to pass a law establishing the authority of the crown over the clergy, and the king succeeded in obtaining the consent of the clergy to his appointment of fifty-one of their number to titular prelacies, who were to sit in parliament as representatives of the church. In this state of things James succeeded to the crown of England.

In 1606 an act of the legislature restored to the bishops a part of their revenues ; they were some time after made perpetual moderators of the provincial synods, and they finally (1610) regained all their original powers, the rights of ordination and spiritual jurisdiction being vested in them. When the king visited Scotland (1617) he required that some of the rites of the church of England should be adopted, such as kneeling at the eucharist, giving it to persons on their deathbed, and the practice of confirmation by a bishop. These were rejected by the first assembly which was convened, but the following year means were found for having them received, and the Scottish clergy were thus brought into a reluctant agreement with the church, which they regarded as little better than that of Rome.

The state of religion in England during this reign was far from satisfactory. After the death of archbishop Whitgift (1603) the king conferred the primacy on Bancroft, bishop of London, a prelate distinguished by his zeal against presbytery and puritanism. The puritan ministers underwent the persecution of being silenced, disgraced, and imprisoned, while Bancroft lived ; but his successor, Abbot, a far better man, had a leaning toward their opinions, and they now experienced favour rather than the reverse.

Hitherto the protestants in general had held most of the

opinions which are termed Calvinistic, especially on the subject of predestination, or the absolute decrees of the Deity, as it was explained in the writings of St. Augustine ; but about this time the milder doctrine of the Greek fathers had been promulgated in Holland by Arminius, from whom it was henceforth named. James, who had been reared in the opposite sentiment, was quite outrageous, when Vorstius, who held these opinions, was appointed to a professorship at Leyden. The States, to propitiate him, were obliged to deprive and banish their new professor ; indeed, the king hinted that they might as well have committed him to the flames. Yet James himself, and a portion of the prelates and clergy, afterwards adopted the Arminian tenets. It is rather curious, that those who thus became the most strenuous asserters of the freedom of man's will were the great upholders of the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience*.

The liberties of England owe so much to the puritans, that one feels little inclined to dwell on their errors ; but justice requires that they should appear in their true colours, and not be suffered to make a monopoly, as it were, of virtue and goodness. In piety and in moral conduct they were, taken on the whole, superior to their opponents ; but they were harsh and morose, inquisitorial and censor-

* The following anecdote is well known : " On the day of the dissolution of the last parliament of King James I., Mr. Waller, out of curiosity or respect, went to see the king at dinner, with whom were Dr. Andrews, the bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Neal, bishop of Durham, standing behind his majesty's chair. There happened something very extraordinary in the conversation these prelates had with the king, on which Mr. Waller did often reflect. His majesty asked the bishops, ' My lords, cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament ? ' The bishop of Durham readily answered, ' God forbid, sir, but you should ; you are the breath of our nostrils. ' Whereupon the king turned and said to the bishop of Winchester, ' Well, my lord, what say you ? ' ' Sir,' replied the bishop, ' I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases. ' The king answered, ' No put-offs, my lord. ' ' Then, sir,' said he, ' I think it is lawful for you to take my brother Neal's money, for he offers it. ' Mr. Waller said the company was pleased with this answer, and the wit of it seemed to affect the king."—Life of Waller, prefixed to his poems.

ious, absurdly scrupulous about trifles, and the enemies of all pleasure and innocent recreation. The modes, however, of opposing them that were employed were injudicious. The persecution of them was of a kind calculated rather to annoy and irritate than to suppress, and the publication of the 'Book of Sports,' though well intended, did more harm than good. The following was the occasion of it. The puritans had been gradually converting the Christian Lord's Day into a Judaical sabbath,—not, we may observe, the sabbath of the Mosaic law, in which, as at all their festivals, the people of Israel were 'to rejoice before the Lord,' but a gloomy sullen day of hearing sermons and shunning all innocent recreations,—and this, in their usual arbitrary spirit, they would have forced on all, whatever their opinions might be. The catholics naturally took occasion to censure the reformed religion for this gloom and morosity, and the king and his clerical advisers thinking differently from the puritans on the subject, a proclamation was issued, forbidding any one to prevent the people from having, after divine service, dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, and other manly and harmless recreations, as also may-poles, may-games, Whitsun-ales, and morris-dances. Bull-baiting, bear-baiting, interludes, and bowls, were prohibited. No recusant, however, was to have the benefit of this liberty, which was confined to those who had attended divine service that day. The 'Book of Sports,' as it was termed, was ordered to be read out in the churches, but primate Abbot forbade it to be read in his presence at Croydon, and it only served to give the puritans an occasion of representing their opponents as being totally devoid of religion.

The houses of commons during this reign were deeply pervaded by the puritanical spirit*, a proof of its preva-

* When in 1621 a bill was brought into the commons for the more strict observance of the sabbath, Mr. Shepherd opposed it; he objected to the word sabbath, justified dancing on that day by the example of king David, and was for allowing sports on it. For this boldness he was, on the motion of Mr. Pym, expelled the house! Such were puritanical notions of freedom of speech.

lence throughout the nation. Hence with their zeal for repressing the abuses of the prerogative, and securing the liberties of the people, were joined an anxiety for the persecution of the catholics, and a continued effort to extend the rigid principles of their party.

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES I.*

1625—1629.

King's marriage.—First parliament.—Expedition to Cadiz.—Impeachment of Buckingham.—Arbitrary taxation.—War with France.—Expedition to Rochelle.—Petition of Right.—Murder of Buckingham.—Sir Thomas Wentworth.—Third parliament.—Harsh treatment of sir John Eliot.

THE new monarch, now in the twenty-fifth year of his age, offered in his morals and character a favourable contrast to his father. He was grave and serious in his deportment, regular in his conduct, an enemy to licentiousness and riot of every kind, a lover and a patron of the fine arts†. He had, however, imbibed to the fullest extent his father's absurd notions of the divine rights of kings, and their accountability to God alone for the discharge of the duties of their high office. Any attempts to limit his authority he regarded as usurpation and rebellion, and, as we shall see, he held that any concessions extorted from the monarch were revocable, as contrary to his duty to God to grant. Charles was sincerely attached to the episcopal form of government in the church. To his misfortune, he was also blindly devoted to the insolent, rapacious, self-willed, domineering upstart whom the folly of his father had gorged with wealth and offices‡ and made ruler of himself and his kingdom.

* The principal authorities for the reign of Charles are, Clarendon, Whitelock, and Rushworth. See the Appendix (A.)

† See Mrs. Hutchinson's *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 65. 4to edit.

‡ He was lord high-admiral of England and Ireland, warden of the cinque ports, master of the horse, justice in eyre of the forests and chases this side the Trent, constable of Windsor Castle, knight of the garter, &c. &c. The wealth that had been heaped upon him is almost past computation. Some one cited by Mrs. Hutchinson said beautifully and correctly of him, "He seemed as an unhappy exhalation drawn up from the earth, not only to cloud the setting but the rising sun."

The first care of Charles was to celebrate his marriage with the princess Henrietta Maria. The nuptials were performed by proxy at Paris (May 1), whither the duke of Buckingham repaired with a splendid train to conduct the young queen into England. The king met her at Dover, and thence took her to Hampton Court, as the plague was raging in London.

On the 18th of June Charles's first parliament met at Westminster. The king submitted to it the state of his finances; he was encumbered by a debt of his father's to a large amount; he had all the expenses of his marriage and other charges to meet, and he was about to be engaged in a war against the whole house of Austria. To meet all these, "the house of commons," Hume sarcastically observes, "conducted by the wisest and ablest senators that had ever flourished in England, thought proper to confer on the king a supply of two subsidies, amounting to 112,000*l*!" Such conduct appears to be, as that partial writer represents it, a cruel mockery of an innocent and a confiding young monarch. When carefully examined, however, it will perhaps appear in a different light. We will, for this purpose, take a brief view of the composition of the two houses of parliament.

During the whole of the Tudor period we have seen the house of lords the humble instruments of the will of the crown, to whose bounty they owed their wealth and honours. But nearly a century's possession of the monastic lands had inspired many of them with a feeling of security and independence; and as they gazed on the venerable turrets of Wilton, Woburn, and the other abbeys and priories which now formed their abodes, they caught a portion of the spirit which had animated the barons of the days whose memory these stately piles recalled. Their honors, too, had acquired the sanction of time, and they viewed with disdain the dignities of the upstart Buckingham, whose pride, insolence, and rapacity galled their souls. An opposition to the crown, composed of these men and of the

maintainers of puritan doctrines, now appeared in the lords, and its strength may be estimated by the circumstance of the earl of Pembroke, its head, being the holder of ten proxies, only three less than those of Buckingham, the dispenser of wealth and favor*.

In the commons there were the two parties essential to a popular assembly in a monarchy, the supporters of the crown and its measures, and the opponents of abuses and advocates for the rights and privileges of the subjects; that is, the court- and the country-party. The former were a minority, and they felt the necessity of proceeding with caution, extenuating and softening rather than defending abuses. The latter were mostly puritans, zealous against all that appeared to them superstitious in religion, hostile to the exorbitant powers exercised by the prelates, and perhaps in many cases secretly inclined to the presbyterian form†; but at the same time sincerely anxious for the national rights and liberties. There were other members (afterwards known by the name of *patriots*,) who were more zealous for civil liberty than for changes in religious ceremonies, and who did not view with any great abhorrence the cope and surplice or the wedding-ring. Such were sir Edward Coke, sir Thomas Cotton, John Selden, John Pym, and others.

Puritans and patriots were alike animated by a zeal against popery, which they knew well, and viewed in its true character, as the inveterate foe of both mental and civil liberty. Toleration was at that time unknown, and to the declaimers in its favor we may remark, that the experience of two centuries has shown that this vaunted *panacea* has in no single instance succeeded in mitigating the

* It was shortly afterwards resolved that no peer should hold more than two, which continues to be the rule. This practice, by the way, supposes either a superlative degree of wisdom, or an unreasoning spirit of party in peers, who thus vote on all questions without having heard the arguments for and against them.

† That there was such a spirit abroad is evident from the demands made at the Hampton-court conference. See above, p. 280.

ferocity of the spirit of popery ; that it is as persecuting, as intolerant, as faithless, as hostile to knowledge and to social improvement, at the present day, as in its most flourishing period*. After this ample experience we should hesitate at the call of infidels and sciolists to look on such men as Coke, Selden, and Pym, as narrow-minded illiberal bigots.

One of the first proceedings of the commons was to require every member to receive the sacrament in St. Margaret's church, and thus testify his attachment to the protestant religion ; for there was now a regular establishment of capuchin friars at Somerset-house, the residence of the queen, and these men boldly paraded the streets in their habits ; the jesuits and other priests also began to show themselves openly in various places, and the court was known to be full of catholics. The commons then petitioned the king to enforce the laws against recusants. Dr. Montague, one of the court-divines, having published a work called '*Appello Cæsarem*,' recommending the catholics to the favour of government, and representing the puritans as a people desiring an anarchy, and therefore to be discouraged, he was summoned to answer for it at the bar of the house of commons. The Arminians exerted themselves in his favour ; the king declared that he was one of his chaplains ; but all availed not ; he was forced to give securities to answer the charge of contempt of the house, and impugning the articles of the church of England.

The object of the king was to obtain an immediate supply of money ; the commons wished to couple with it a redress of grievances. They saw that the king was a mere puppet in the hands of Buckingham, and they now had their doubts of the justice of the war with Spain, into which he was about to plunge the nation. They were loath

* We must request the reader not to misunderstand or misrepresent us. All our remarks on popery in these volumes relate to the system, not to the individual members of the church of Rome, among whom may be found numerous examples of the sincerest piety and the most exalted virtue.

to vote a large sum without conditions, and they could not with a good grace refuse supplies. They therefore adopted a middle course; they voted two subsidies (about 140,000*l.*) for immediate use. They also, instead of voting, as had long been the usage, the duties of tonnage and poundage to the king for life, granted them only for a year. The lords, however, rejected this bill. At the request of the two houses, on account of the plague, there was an adjournment for three weeks, when they were to meet at Oxford.

The parliament now learned the following circumstance. King James had promised the French king to aid him by a loan of eight armed vessels to be employed against Spain in the Mediterranean. These ships, under admiral Pennington, came to Dieppe, and there the crews suspected, or rather discovered, that they were to be employed against the Huguenots of Rochelle. They forthwith drew up a *round robin*, and laid it under the admiral's prayer-book; and Pennington declaring that he would rather be hanged for disobedience in England than fight against his fellow-protestants in France, returned to the Downs. Buckingham, by false representations, induced them to return to France; but when they found that they had been deceived, they, with the exception of one gunner, abandoned their vessels, which were taken by the French and employed against Rochelle.

The knowledge of this did not prepossess the commons much in favour of the king and Buckingham. They therefore still talked of a redress of grievances as preliminary to a supply; they put sundry questions to the duke, asking, among others, if he had not broken off the match with Spain out of spleen to Olivarez, and whether he had not made that with France on still less favourable terms? They were in train to impeach him, but the king to save him dissolved the parliament contrary to the advice of his privy council.

It is usual, with the advocates of Charles, to make it a heavy charge against the parliament, that they had involved

him in a war with Spain and then refused the supplies; but war had not yet been declared, and Charles was under no necessity of entering into it. Urged on, however, by his own passions or those of Buckingham, he was bent on war with that monarchy. To show his protestant zeal, he issued, in violation of his engagements at his marriage, a proclamation enforcing the laws against recusants; to raise money he levied tonnage and poundage at the ports, though the bill for it had not passed; he sent privy-seals to the nobility and gentry, and suspended the payment of all fees and salaries. Ships and troops had meantime been assembled at Plymouth, and in the month of October a fleet of ninety sail, carrying ten thousand soldiers, put to sea. Buckingham had given the command to sir Edward Cecil, now lord Wimbledon, a man advanced in years, who had long been in the Dutch service, but who was generally held to be incompetent. Cadiz was the place fixed on for attack, but no council of war was held till they were in sight of the port, and time was thus given for escape to the shipping, which might have been captured had they entered the port at once. The troops, however, landed and marched rapidly to secure the bridge leading from the isle in which Cadiz stands to the mainland. But the soldiers meeting with cellars full of wine got drunk and unruly, and their timid leader re-embarked them, though no enemy had appeared. He then sailed to intercept the Plate-fleet, but it passed him in the night. He returned to Plymouth (Dec. 8) after losing more than one thousand men by disease. The council instituted an inquiry, but after many examinations of Wimbledon and his officers, they judged it best to bury the affair in silence.

The failure of this project was a heavy blow to the king. Had it succeeded, and had he gotten the plunder of Cadiz and the Plate-fleet, he would have been, in some measure, independent of his parliament; but now he had rashly run into a war, and without the aid of the commons he had no mode of extricating himself. He had, moreover, pledged

his word to call a parliament after Christmas. All, therefore, that could be done was to try to break the strength of the opposition. Pembroke was induced to seek a reconciliation with Buckingham; and the great seal was taken from bishop Williams, whom Buckingham feared, and committed to sir Thomas Coventry. In order to exclude Coke and six others most hostile to the favourite from the house of commons, the king himself inserted their names in the list of sheriffs for the ensuing year: at the same time new proclamations were issued against the recusants, to convince the nation of the monarch's zeal for religion.

The king was crowned on Candlemas-day (1626), and four days after (Feb. 6.) the parliament met. They appointed committees of religion, of grievances, and of evils, their causes and remedies.

The progress of their inquiries was not pleasing to the king: he reminded them of his wants; they promised three subsidies and three fifteenths, if a favourable answer were given to their prayer for the redress of grievances; the king advised them to hasten the supply; else, said he, "it will be worse for yourselves; for if any evil happen, I think I shall be the last that shall feel it." The commons promised obedience, but ere they proceeded in the matter, they came to the resolution of impeaching the favourite as the main cause of the evils for which they sought redress. Buckingham had now also a formidable foe in the lords. The earl of Bristol wrote to the peers complaining that his writ of summons had been withheld. On their noticing it, the king directed that the writ should be issued, but at the same time he wrote to Bristol, ordering him not to avail himself of it. Bristol sent this letter to the house, asking their advice on the subject, and claiming permission to appear and accuse his enemy of high crimes and misdemeanours. Forthwith the attorney-general, by order of the king and Buckingham, charged Bristol himself with high treason. The lords resolved to hear both parties, giving

precedence to the last, but deciding that the charge against the earl should not impeach his testimony.

The charges made against Bristol chiefly rested on the testimony of the king himself. Against this, as an injurious precedent, the earl properly remonstrated. Still, however, their intrinsic weakness was such that he was able easily to make a full and convincing reply to them. To the charges which he made against the duke no reply was given. He accused him of having conspired with Gondomar to draw the prince to Spain that he might be there induced to change his religion; of having while there disgraced his country by his indecent and licentious conduct; of having broken off the treaty because the Spanish council refused to treat with him, and of having on his return deceived the king and parliament.

The commons having voted that "common fame is a good ground of proceedings for that house," sent up to the lords an impeachment against the duke. The managers of it were sir Dudley Digges, sir John Eliot, John Selden, John Pym, and four other members. They charged him with the purchase and the sale of offices, with procuring titles and pensions for his kindred and allies, with giving the ships to be employed against Rochelle, with embezzling the king's money and obtaining grants of the crown lands, with having given plaisters and potions to the late king in his sickness, etc. The king asserting himself to be implicated by Digges and Eliot in the terms which they employed in urging this last charge, committed them both to the Tower. The commons refusing to proceed with any business till their members were released, sir Dudley Carleton was so imprudent as to remind them, how in other countries kings, finding parliaments to turn liberty to license, took away and abolished them; "and now," said he, "the common people wanting good food look more like ghosts than men, and go in canvas cloth and wooden shoes." For this he narrowly escaped being made to ask pardon on his knees. Digges and Eliot having denied or explained what

was laid to their charge, were set at liberty. The duke made a plausible defence, drawn up for him by sir Nicholas Hyde, an eminent lawyer, and the king effectually to screen him, dissolved the parliament (June 15), though the supplies had not been voted. To the prayer of the lords for a short delay he replied, "No, not of one minute," and in a 'Declaration' which he issued, he stated "that in this, as in all his other royal actions, he is not bound to give an account to any but to God alone, whose immediate vicerent he is." The earls of Arundel and Bristol, as the duke's enemies, were both placed in confinement.

Charles had at this time family dissensions also to annoy him. The young queen was under the complete influence of her priests and her servants. The former had actually made her walk on foot in penance to Tyburn, the scene of the death of so many martyrs of the catholic cause, and they gave great offence by appearing publicly in their habits. The latter made her abandon the study of English, and furnished her with pretexts for quarreling with the king. After a good deal of difficulty and opposition, Charles succeeded in clearing his palace and kingdom of these mischievous people. A new household was formed for the queen, who gradually got the better of her ill-humour, and she soon acquired a fatal influence over the mind of her husband.

The king now saw plainly that parliament would only grant supplies on the condition of the redress of grievances, and as he was resolved not to be dictated to by them, he proceeded to raise money without their aid. He continued to levy tonnage and poundage, though they had not been granted; the crown lands were made, by leases and other means, more productive; the fines on recusants were more strictly exacted; privy-seals were again issued. The sea-ports were required to supply and maintain for three months a certain number of armed vessels, and the lords-lieutenant of the counties had directions to muster and train the people to arms, as invasion was apprehended.

An attempt was made to prevail on the people to pay the amount of the subsidies voted by the parliament; but in London, Middlesex, and Kent, which were first applied to, the proposition was indignantly rejected. A new plan was then adopted; a loan to the amount of three subsidies (200,000*l.*) was demanded, each man to give according to the rate at which he was assessed in the last subsidy. The clergy were instructed "to stir up all sorts of people to express their zeal to God, and their duty to the king" in this matter; and the commissioners of the loan were directed to deal with each person separately, to insist on the required sum, to examine him on oath respecting his motives and advisers if he declined, and to furnish the privy council with the names of those who persisted in refusing.

This arbitrary mode of taxation was enforced by despotic measures of power. The inferior people who refused to lend what was not likely ever to be repaid, were impressed and sent to serve in the army or navy; the gentry were called before the council, and several of them were committed to prison. Five of these, sir Thomas Darnel, John Corbet, Walter Earl, John Heveningham, and Everard Hampden, applied to the court of king's bench for their writ of *habeas corpus*; the writ was granted, but the warden of the Fleet made return that the warrant of the privy council assigned no particular cause for their imprisonment. The case therefore came to be argued (Nov. 7) before the court over which sir Nicholas Hyde now presided. Noy, Selden, and other eminent lawyers appeared for the prisoners. Heath, the attorney-general, supported the pretensions of the crown. The former argued from the article of Magna Charta that "no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned unless by lawful judgement of his peers, or the law of the land," and the repeated assertions of this principle, giving precedents of the admission to bail of persons committed by the council during the Tudor period. Heath replied on high prerogative principles, alluding to the king's absolute

power, and arguing from the legal maxim 'the king can do no wrong,' that a sufficient cause must have existed, though it was not set forth; the precedents cited on the other side, he contended, did not apply to the present case. The court decided (27th) in favour of the crown. "The consequence of this decision," an able writer observes*, "was, that every statute from the time of Magna Charta designed to protect the personal liberties of Englishmen became a dead letter; since the insertion of four words in a warrant (*per speciale mandatum regis*), which might become matter of form, would control their remedial efficacy."

The protestant cause had sustained great reverses in Germany, and his allies there now required aid of the king of England. His evil genius Buckingham had also engaged him in a war with France. This worthless insolent minion had, as we have seen, been sent over to conduct Henrietta Maria to England. He there presumed to make love to the young queen Anne of Austria, but found he had a rival in cardinal Richelieu himself; and when, after setting out with his fair charge, he privately returned to Paris, he got a hint that if he persisted in his design he would be assassinated. "He swore in the instant that he would see and speak with that lady in spite of the strength and power of France," and he *did* see and speak with her in a brief interview; but he never could obtain permission to return to the French court. Revenge then actuated him: he sought to alienate the king from the queen, and behaved to her himself with the greatest rudeness and insolence. Something, for example, having occurred to prevent her calling on his mother at an appointed hour, he came in a high rage to her, and among other rude expressions told her "she should repent it." The queen replying with some quickness, he added that "there had been queens in England who had lost their heads." By provoking and insulting the French court in various ways he

* Hallam, i. 529.

sought, but in vain, to draw it into a declaration of war*. He then resolved to commence hostilities himself. Soubise, one of the principal Huguenot leaders, came over to England to concert measures; and a fleet and army were assembled at Portsmouth.

On the 27th of June, 1627, the duke made sail for Rochelle with one hundred ships, carrying about seven thousand soldiers. The gates of that town however were shut against him, the people alleging that they could not act without the consent of the other members of their union (who were now at peace with the crown); but they agreed to furnish supplies, if the English remained in the neighbourhood. For this purpose it was necessary to take possession of the isle of Rhe, or that of Oleron: the latter near Rochelle, well supplied with wine, oil, etc., and feebly garrisoned; the other more distant, and defended by a citadel and a strong garrison. Buckingham proposed to attack Oleron; but while Soubise was gone to consult the people of the town, he landed (July 12) in the isle of Rhe; the garrison opposed him gallantly, but were forced to retire. Instead of attacking the fort at once, he passed five days in inaction; in the interval fresh troops came over to the isle, and the fort was strengthened. At length he advanced against it; but he committed one error after another, and at last (Oct. 29) raised the siege and commenced his retreat. The route partly lay along a narrow causeway or mound, with salt-pits on each side. The French seized the time for attack when a part of the troops were on the causeway, the cavalry were driven among the foot and trampled them down, and numbers were forced into the pits and there drowned. The loss of the English was about two thousand men. Buckingham is said to have shown great personal courage on this occasion; but this is the praise of a mere soldier rather than of a general, and entitles him to little commendation.

The French protestants had been induced by the solicit-

* Clarendon, i. 67-69.

ations of the English court to take arms against their king. Rochelle was menaced by the royal arms, and the people implored Charles to aid them. This he engaged to do in the strongest terms, binding himself never to abandon them. A new expedition was planned : when the question came how the money was to be raised, some of the council proposed the legal mode of summoning a parliament. To this the king with much reluctance* assented, and writs were issued. Sundry illegal modes of raising money were however previously tried ; but all proving of none effect, the king once more met the grand council of the nation (Mar. 17, 1628).

The primate, who had been suspended for refusing to license one of the political sermons in favour of the forced loan†, bishop Williams, whom Buckingham had caused to be sent to the Tower, and the earl of Bristol, who was charged with treason, were permitted to take their seats in the upper house. The gentlemen (seventy-eight in number) who were confined for refusing the forced loan, were set at liberty, and they were all returned for various places. "Never before," says Lingard, "had parliament assembled under auspices more favourable to the cause of freedom. The sense of the nation had been loudly proclaimed by the elections, which had generally fallen on persons distinguished by their recent opposition to the court ; it was the interest of the lords to co-operate with men who sought the

* Some time before, "at the council-table, some proposing a parliament, the king said *he did abominate the name*."—Mede, Letters, Sept. 30, 1626.

† One Sibthorpe preached a sermon enforcing passive obedience. If the commands of the prince, he said, were against the laws of God or nature, or impossible, the subject was not, as in all other cases, bound to active obedience, but he was to passive obedience, that is, "to undergo the punishment without either resistance, or railing, or reviling." The king commanded the primate to license this sermon himself (not in the ordinary way by one of his chaplains); Abbot, on reading it, refused ; he was then suspended, and Laud bishop of London licensed it forthwith. At this time also, Dr. Mainwaring, one of the royal chaplains, preached two sermons at court, maintaining that the king is not bound to obey the laws ; that he may lay on what taxes he pleases, and that all are bound to pay them under pain of eternal damnation.

protection of private property and personal liberty; and the same necessity which had compelled the king to summon a parliament placed him without resource at the mercy of his subjects."

But Charles would not or could not see this. He addressed them in high terms, telling them plainly that it was only as a means of obtaining money that he had called them together; and that if they did not do their duty in contributing, "he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those other means which God had put into his hands to save that which the follies of other men may otherwise hazard to lose." "Take not this," he added, "as threatening (I scorn to threaten any but my equals); but as an admonition from him that both out of nature and duty hath most care of your preservations and prosperities."

The commons manifested no offence at this haughty language: they voted a supply of five subsidies, to be paid within a twelvemonth. But when the king thought to grasp the prize, he was met by demands, his assent to which was a necessary preliminary to the passing of a bill granting the supplies. Four resolutions had been passed unanimously, viz. 1. No freeman to be imprisoned without a lawful cause expressed. 2. The writ of *habeas corpus* to be granted in all cases. 3. If the return assigns no cause, he is to be delivered or bailed. 4. No tax or loan to be levied by the king without an act of parliament. At a conference with the peers the case was argued by Selden, Coke, and others on one side, and by the crown-lawyers on the other. The lords made some amendments, which were rejected by the commons. During two months Charles had recourse to every expedient to escape the necessity of parting with his arbitrary power. At length (May 28) his assent was solicited to the celebrated 'Petition of Right.' This stated, 1. That freemen had been required to lend money to the king, and on refusing had been molested with oaths, arrests, etc. 2. That persons thus arrested, and no cause assigned, had been remanded when brought up by writ of *habeas corpus*. 3.

That soldiers had been billeted in private houses, to the great grievance of the inhabitants. 4. That soldiers and sailors were tried for their imputed offences by martial law, and not by the law of the land. It prayed that all such proceedings should cease, "as being contrary to the rights and liberties of the subject and the laws and statutes of the nation." Charles resolved to dissemble. In a few days (June 2) he came to give the royal assent to the bill formed from the petition; but, instead of the usual brief *Soit droit fait comme il est désiré*, it was long and ambiguous. The commons were filled with grief and despair; but their spirit soon revived, and they were on the point of voting Buckingham "the grievance of grievances." The danger of the favourite shook the resolution of the monarch, and he gave his assent to the bill in the usual manner, amidst loud acclamations of applause. The subsidy bills were speedily passed; but they were followed by a remonstrance imputing all the late national evils and losses to Buckingham, and praying for his removal from court; it was also asserted that tonnage and poundage depended on the consent of parliament. The king having obtained the money he wanted resolved on a prorogation; the clerk of the commons was just reading the bill of tonnage and poundage (26th) when they were summoned to meet the king. He told them that by assenting to the Petition of Right he had granted no new liberties, only confirmed the ancient ones; that tonnage and poundage was what he could not do without; "it was never intended," said he, "by you to ask, and never meant, I am sure, by me to grant." He gave the royal assent to the subsidy bills, and then prorogued the parliament.

It is with sincere pleasure that we quote the following observations of Lingard: "Thus ended," says he, "this eventful session, one of the most memorable in our history. The patriots may have been occasionally intemperate in their warmth and extravagant in their predictions, but their labours have entitled them to the gratitude of posterity.

They extorted from the king the recognition of the rights which he had so wantonly violated, and fixed on a firm and permanent basis the liberties of the nation. It is indeed true that these liberties were subsequently invaded—that again and again they were trampled in the dust; but the Petition of Right survived to bear evidence against the encroachments of the prerogative. To *it* the people always appealed, to *it* the crown was ultimately compelled to submit*.” It was in effect a second Magna Charta†.

The king immediately gave a proof of his insincerity. The Petition of Right had been printed for circulation at the desire of both houses; by his orders the impression was cancelled, and a new one issued with his *first* answer to it. “By which expedient,” says Hume, “he endeavoured to persuade the people that he had nowise receded from his former claims and pretensions.”

Rochelle was at this time hard pressed by the royal forces, commanded by Richelieu in person. A fleet and army were assembled at Portsmouth, of which Buckingham was again to take the command. But he was this time to negotiate, not to fight, as both Charles and Louis were now convinced that by their hostility they were only strengthening the house of Austria. One morning (Aug. 23) the duke had some high words in his chamber with Soubise and other French gentlemen; he was then proceeding to his carriage, when, as on crossing the hall he turned to listen to a whisper from colonel Friar, an unknown hand plunged a knife into his heart, and left it sticking there: he cried “villain!” plucked it out, staggered against a table, and died. The French gentlemen were suspected of the deed, and narrowly escaped instant death; the assassin had meantime reached the kitchen, and might have escaped, but on a sudden alarm

* *O si sic omnia!* He immediately proceeds to remark on the religious intolerance of the patriots; but for this we cannot well blame him.

† As our limits do not allow of our narrating the parliamentary details, we here give the names of the leading patriots. They were sir John Eliot, sir Edward Coke, sir Robert Philips, and Selden, Glanvil, Noy, and Pym.

he drew his sword, crying, "I am the man." He was seized; he said his name was John Felton, a protestant and a lieutenant in the army, from which he had retired, as junior officers had been put over his head, and his arrears of pay had been withheld. The remonstrance of the commons had convinced him that the duke was the cause of the national calamities, and that by killing him he should serve God, his king, and his country. He had no accomplices; he had travelled seventy miles to do the deed; so little personal enmity had he, that as he struck the blow, he prayed, "May God have mercy on thy soul!" Felton was transmitted to London, and underwent several examinations, but persisted in his story. The marquess of Dorset threatened him with the torture. "I am ready," said he; "yet I must tell you, by the way, that I will then accuse you, my lord of Dorset, and no one but yourself." The king wished to have him racked, but the judges declared torture to be contrary to the laws of England. Felton pleaded guilty (Nov. 27), owning the enormity of his offence, and praying that the hand which did the criminal deed might be struck off before he died. He was executed as a murderer.

The king was at his prayers in a private house near Portsmouth when the news of the murder of the duke was brought him. He testified no great emotion at the time, but he felt deeply. He took the family of his favourite under his protection, paid his debts, to the amount of 61,000*l.*, caused him to be buried in Westminster-Abbey, and styled him 'the martyr of his sovereign'—such was his infatuation! Buckingham was only thirty-six years of age; his death was perhaps fortunate for himself, for, as Lingard justly observes, "if he had escaped the knife of the assassin, he would probably have fallen by the axe of the executioner." A more worthless minion, one more destitute of every good and great quality, it would be difficult to find; and one blushes to think of England being go-

verned, as in effect it was, for so many years by such an ignorant, insolent, and profligate upstart.

The expedition to Rochelle sailed under the earl of Lindsey; but its efforts were of no avail; the town surrendered at discretion, and the Huguenot power was completely broken.

About this time the king gained to his side a man in all respects infinitely the superior of Buckingham. Sir Thomas Wentworth, a man of large fortune and great influence in Yorkshire, had sat in every parliament since 1614. He had followed a neutral line of conduct, but his natural temper inclined him to the side of arbitrary power. In the present parliament, however, he had shown himself one of the most prominent champions of freedom; for Buckingham had out of jealousy deprived him of the office of Custos Rotulorum of his county, and while that wound was yet raw, a privy-seal had been sent him at the suggestion of his rival, sir John Savile. He refused compliance, was brought before the council, and committed to prison. In the ensuing parliament he took his place among the patriots, and displayed such ability and energy that the court saw their error, and resolved to gain him if possible. This was easy to effect; he became a baron, and then a viscount, and lord-president of the council of the north, and he never after wavered in his devotion to despotism.

The king at this time also gave great offence to the parliament by promoting some divines whom they had censured. Montague was made bishop of Chichester; Mainwaring, Sibthorpe, Cousins, and other Arminians, or rather semi-papists, obtained good livings. In contempt also of the parliament, the duties of tonnage and poundage were levied, and the goods of Rolles a member of parliament, Chambers, and other merchants who refused to pay them, were seized.

On the 20th of January 1629, parliament re-assembled. The fraud of the king in the printing the Petition of Right

was made known ; the case of Rolles was brought before the house, and the sheriff of London and the officers of the customs had to appear at the bar. The king then summoned both houses to meet him at Whitehall, and there urged them to put an end to all disputes by passing the bill for tonnage and poundage, assuring them that he did not take these duties as a part of his prerogative, but by the gift of his people ; and that if he had levied them hitherto, he did it out of necessity, and not “by any right which he assumed.” The commons however took no heed of this and other attempts to obtain money without conditions. It was their fixed and just principle, that inquiry into and redress of grievances should precede supplies. This they immediately set about, directing their attention first to the all-important subject of religion. On the 27th sir John Eliot addressed the house in an able speech, on the subject of the innovations lately made in religion, and the result was a “vow,” made on the journals, to admit no new sense of the articles of religion. After a few days the house adjourned to the 25th of February, on which day it was agreed to present charges to the king against Laud, bishop of London. The king then sent his command for both houses to adjourn to the 2nd of March.

On this memorable day Eliot entered the house, having a protestation prepared to propose to the members. It contained these articles : 1. Whoever shall innovate in religion by introducing popery, Arminianism, etc., is an enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth. 2. Whoever shall counsel to take or assist in taking tonnage and poundage not granted by parliament, is an enemy, etc. 3. Whoever shall pay the same is an enemy, etc. When he had introduced these by a speech directed chiefly against the lord treasurer Weston, he desired sir John Finch, the speaker, to read them, but he refused ; the clerk did the same ; Eliot read them out himself, and then required the speaker to put them to the vote. He replied “he was commanded otherwise by the king,” and rose to quit the

chair; but two members, Hollis and Valentine, held him down. A tumult arose; swords were near being drawn: Eliot gave the protestation to Hollis to put it to the house, and it was heard with acclamations. The king sent the sergeant to take away the mace, but he was detained, and the doors were locked: the usher of the black-rod then came; he could not gain admission: in a rage the king ordered the captain of the guard to go and force the doors, but the members having passed the protestation, and adjourned to the 10th, now issued forth in a body. Eliot, Hollis, Valentine, and others, were forthwith summoned before the council, and on their refusing to answer out of parliament for things said and done in it, were committed to the Tower; on the 10th the king went down to the house of lords and dissolved the parliament, on account, he said, of "the seditious carriage of some vipers, members of the lower house."

The imprisoned members applied for their *habeas corpus*; but the king, by removing them from the custody of the officers to whom the writs were directed, frustrated their efforts. They were offered their liberty if they would petition the king, and express contrition for having offended him. This course they at once rejected, as it would be an acknowledgement of the legality of the arbitrary acts which they opposed. Eliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were finally proceeded against in the king's bench, and sentenced to be imprisoned during pleasure; and Eliot was fined 1000*l.*, Hollis 1000 marks, and Valentine 500*l.* The others were released after a confinement of eighteen months; Eliot ended his days in the Tower. When the decline of his health had made him yield to the entreaties of his friends, and petition for his liberty, the answer given was, "It is not humble enough." He sent a second petition by his young son, offering to return to his prison when he should have recovered his health. This also was ineffectual. When he died, his children petitioned to be allowed to take his body to Cornwall, to lay it in the tomb of his ancestors.

“Let sir John Eliot’s body be buried in the church of that parish where he died,” was the unfeeling reply of the monarch.

Thus terminated Charles’s third parliament. As we shall now find him for some years dispensing with these assemblies, taking his subjects’ money at his own arbitrary will, and running the full career of despotism, we will transcribe the following passage from his panegyrist, lord Clarendon. “It is not to be denied,” says he, “that there were in all those parliaments, especially in that of the fourth year, several passages and distempered speeches of particular persons not fit for the dignity and honour of those places, and unsuitable to the reverence due to his majesty and his councils. But I do not know any formal act of either house (for neither the remonstrance or votes of the last day were such) that was not agreeable to the wisdom and justice of great courts on those extraordinary occasions. And whoever considers the acts of power and injustice in the intervals of parliament, will not be much scandalized at the warmth and vivacity of those meetings.”

CHAPTER IV.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED).

1629—1640.

The cabinet.—Laud and the church.—Persecution of Leighton, Prynne, and others.—Mode of raising a revenue.—Ship-money.—John Hampden.—Settlement of New England.—Affairs of Scotland.—Attempt to introduce a liturgy.—The Covenant.—The Episcopal war.—The Short Parliament.—Scots enter England.—Despotism of Charles.

FOR a period of twelve years we are now to witness the exercise of absolute monarchy in England; the king, like his brethren of France and Spain, taking his subjects' money at his will, giving no account of the expenditure, and arbitrarily punishing all who ventured to murmur or oppose the civil and religious despotism now established.

External tranquillity being requisite for his designs, Charles made peace with the courts of France and Spain. When the illustrious Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden put himself at the head of the protestant cause in Germany, six thousand men were raised for his aid in Great Britain, in the name of the marquess of Hamilton, who commanded them, but at the expense of the king. This was the only money employed for foreign purposes; the produce of the taxes and impositions in general went to the support of the government, and to the maintenance of a most brilliant court.

After the death of Buckingham, the only man he seems ever to have loved, Charles had no favourite, and he became his own minister. The queen, a vain, selfish, self-willed woman, possessed an undue influence over his mind. He had drawn from the popular side not only Wentworth and Savile, but sir Dudley Digges, whom he made master of the rolls, and the two lawyers Noy and Littleton, who

became his attorney- and solicitor-general: sir Richard Weston, the lord treasurer, a suspected catholic, was one of the most unscrupulous instruments of the royal despotism.

In his project of abolishing the liberties of the people, Charles was aided by the hierarchy of the church, headed by William Laud, whom the favour of Buckingham had raised rapidly through various episcopal gradations to the see of London, and whom on the death of Abbot (1632), the king advanced to the primacy. Laud was a man of a narrow mind, but of much reading; matters of little importance to enlarged intellects, were, therefore, of great moment to *him*; he had thus conceived a ridiculously exalted notion of the value of ceremonies in sustaining religion, and a preposterous opinion of the peculiar sanctity and sublimity of the episcopal character; he also held the Arminian tenets. In all these matters his sincerity is not to be questioned, but he was actuated by a cruel, persecuting spirit, and he would allow none to maintain opinions contrary to his own.

It is, we think, a matter not to be disputed, that the fathers and founders of our church were not Arminians, and most surely the articles of our church evince that those who compiled them agreed with St. Austin on the abstruse points of predestination, original sin, and such like, however ambiguously they may have expressed themselves. Our early reformers also seem to have regarded episcopacy as a thing of human rather than divine institution, and they drew close the bonds of fellowship with the foreign churches, even those of France and Geneva, which had cast it off altogether. In the church of Rome they saw only Antichrist, the enemy of Christ, and not a part of his mystic body. But Laud, Montague, Heylin, and the other *high-church* divines as they were now termed, recognised the church of Rome as a true church; they strongly asserted the divine origin of episcopacy, and the necessity of a regular transmission from the time of the apostles, and

therefore looked on the other protestant churches as mere schismatics. In fact, the approximation now made to Rome was so great, that the pope actually sent to offer Laud a cardinal's hat, an offer that was not spurned at*. It was the court rather than the church of Rome that Laud disliked; he would willingly be himself the pope of England, and he could not brook submission to him of Rome.

The following are some of the changes made at this time. Strange ceremonies were employed in the consecration of churches, the communion table was removed from the centre of the churches to the east end, railed in and called an altar, and obeisance was made to it: the officiating minister was named a priest, and his habit became more gaudy; the use of pictures, images, crucifixes, and lights in the churches was contended for; prayers for the dead, confession and absolution were inculcated. The doctrine of the real presence, or something very nearly resembling it, seems to have been held by Laud and others†.

The catholics were full of hopes at witnessing these favourable symptoms in the church of England, and the court of Rome was induced to send an envoy named Panzani to London. A negotiation for the union of the churches was commenced with him by lord Cottington, secretary Windbank and bishop Montague, but entirely unknown to Laud and the clergy in general. Like all projects of the kind, it was a mere abortion, for Rome will never recede from any one of her pretensions. The king in return for the courtesies which the court of Rome lavished on him stopped the prosecution of the recusants; it was agreed that diplomatic relations should be established between the two courts in the name of the queen, and Panzani was succeeded in his post at London by a Scotsman named Conn,

* "My answer was," says Laud, "that somewhat dwelt within me, which would not suffer that till Rome were other than it is."

† See Appendix (E).

whose place was afterwards taken by an agent of higher rank, the Count Rosetti. As usual, the catholics behaved with great insolence; "they attempted," says Clarendon, "and sometimes obtained proselytes of weak uninformed ladies, with such circumstances as provoked the rage and destroyed the charity of great and powerful families," and they urged the court on in all its ruinous and oppressive measures. "To conclude," he adds, "they carried themselves so as if they had been suborned by the Scots to root out their own religion."*

The punishments of those who impugned the innovations in the church were very severe, and the licensing of the press being in the hands of the dominant party, no works in opposition to them could be printed. It was not even permitted to assail the church of Rome; and it will scarcely be believed, that Fox's Book of Martyrs, Jewell's works, and the celebrated Practice of Piety now failed to obtain a license to be printed.

The treatment of the father of the excellent archbishop Leighton at this time will serve to give an idea of the punishments inflicted on those who drew down on themselves the vengeance of the implacable Laud. Leighton, a Scots divine, had printed in Holland a book named 'Zion's Plea against Prelacy,' addressed to the members of the late parliament. In this he no doubt treated the bishops with great rudeness and violence, terming them "men of blood" and prelacy "antichristian," showing "the fearful sin of their pestering God's worship, and overlaying people's con-

* Mrs. Hutchinson (p. 59.) says, "A great cause of these abominations (murder, incest, etc.) was the mixt marriages of papist and protestant families, which, no question, was a design of the popish party to compass and procure, and so successful, that I have observed that there was not one house of ten where such a marriage was made but the better part was corrupted; the children's souls were sacrificed to devils; the worship of God was laid aside in that family for fear of distasting the idolater; the kindred, tenants and neighbours either quite turned from it or cooled in their zeal for religion." Making due allowance for the zeal of this excellent woman, her remarks are correct in the main.

sciences with the inventions of men, yea, with the trumpery of Antichrist," and calling on the parliament utterly to root out the hierarchy. Speaking of the queen, he styled her a daughter of Heth, that is simply a papist in the language of the time. For this he was sentenced by the court of Star-chamber (1630) to be committed to the Fleet for life; to be fined 10,000*l.*; to be degraded of his ministry; to be pilloried, whipt, have an ear crompt off, a nostril slit, and his cheek branded with an SS (*i.e.* Sower of Sedition), at Westminster, and the same to be repeated some days after at Cheapside*. When this cruel sentence was pronounced, Laud pulled off his cap and gave God thanks for it, and in his Diary he records minutely and without the slightest pity or remorse how it was carried into execution. Leighton lay in his dungeon till the year 1641, when he was released by the parliament.

William Prynne, a barrister, published at this time a ponderous quarto volume named '*Histriomastix*,' full of zeal and learning against plays and players. Prynne had already incurred the enmity of Laud and the high-churchmen by some works against Arminianism and prelatic jurisdiction, and they were on the watch for him. It happened that about six weeks *after* the publication of Prynne's book the queen performed a part in a pastoral at Somerset-house; and as in Prynne's book it was said "that women-actors among the Greeks and Romans were all notorious impudent prostituted strumpets," which in the table of contents was thus referred to, "Women-actors notorious whores," Laud showed the passage to the king, affirming that it was meant for the queen (by the spirit of prophecy no doubt), but the royal pair took no notice of it. Laud, resolved not to be balked, set his trusty chaplain Peter

* See Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, i. 538, and Harris's Life of Charles I. 260. Whitelock and Heylin say that Leighton counselled the parliament "to kill all the bishops by smiting them under the fifth rib." Neal and Pearce assert that there are no such words in his book. Even, however, if he had used them, they were a common figurative expression at that time.

Heylin to hunt through all Prynne's works, and to collect the scandalous points out of them. These Laud carried himself to Noy on a Sunday morning, desiring him to prosecute Prynne in the Star-chamber. Noy did as directed, and Prynne was sentenced to be fined 1000*l.*; to be expelled Oxford and Lincoln's-inn; to be degraded from his profession in the law; to stand twice in the pillory, lose an ear each time, have his books burnt before him by the hangman, and be imprisoned for life. This sentence also was carried into effect.

At this time also Dr. Bastwick, a learned physician, having published a book called '*Elenchus Papismi et Flagellum Episcoporum Latialium*,' in answer to one Short, a papist, was brought before the high-commission court for it; for though, as he said and as the title shows, it was directed only against the bishops of Rome, it probably contained hits at episcopacy in general. He too was sentenced to be fined 1000*l.*, excommunicated, forbidden to practise physic, and imprisoned till he should recant. At the same time one Chowney, "a fierce papist," wrote a book in defence of the Church of Rome, proving it to be a true church, and Laud approved of the book and accepted the dedication of it. Whitelock says he was told that the bishops in their censure of Bastwick denied that they held their jurisdiction as bishops from the king, affirming that they had it from God only.

Another sufferer in these days was John Lilburne, afterwards so famous. He was then a mere youth, but being convicted of distributing pamphlets against the bishops, he was whipt from the Fleet to Westminster, set in the pillory, and treated with great cruelty.

The modes in which Charles raised a revenue at this time were as follows: 1. He levied tonnage and poundage, increasing the duties in many cases. 2. He, for a certain fine, pardoned frauds in the sale of former crown-lands, and allowed defective titles to be remedied. 3. He obliged all who had not come to receive knighthood at his coro-

nation to compound for their neglect. 4. He revived monopolies, giving them to companies of merchants who were to pay a large sum down, and a certain annual duty on the articles they sold or manufactured. 5. He extorted fines for disobedience to proclamations, even when they had been contrary to law, such as that of his father against building in and about London. 6. The forest-laws were revived, and the king's forestal rights asserted to the great havoc of private property. The forests in Essex were so extended as to take in almost the whole county. Lord Southampton thus lost so much of his property as to be nearly ruined, and several others were heavily fined for encroachments*. In a word, the king looking upon all the rights and privileges of the people as having been so many usurpations on the absolute power of the crown, thought himself justified in the use of every act of power exercised by any of his predecessors.

Though much individual hardship was endured in consequence of these arbitrary modes of taxation, the country was on the whole in a flourishing condition. The advocates of Charles would fain ascribe the merit of this to the government; but a more natural and adequate cause is the energy of the English people, which even the worst government is unable totally to repress.

The year 1637 is rendered memorable by the stand made by the celebrated John Hampden and others against the arbitrary system of taxation now exercised by the crown. The impost which gave occasion to it was that of ship-money, a device of the apostate lawyer Noy, who by a diligent search through the dusty records of the Tower had discovered that in ancient times the sea-ports, the maritime counties, and even some places inland had been required to furnish shipping for the public service. What use Noy

* Lord Salisbury was fined 20,000*l.*, lord Westmoreland 19,000*l.*, sir Christopher Hatton 12,000*l.*, for encroachments on Rockingham forest, the boundaries of which were extended from six to sixty miles.—*Strafford's Papers*, ii. 117.

proposed to make of his discovery his death prevents us from ascertaining; but his seed had not fallen on a barren soil in the council, for in 1634 a writ was issued to the magistrates of London and other ports, requiring them to furnish ships of war of a certain tonnage, and fully equipped. The citizens of London pleaded their charter, but to no purpose; the writ was everywhere obeyed. There was a plausible pretext indeed for augmenting the navy at this time. The rovers of the piratic states of Africa dared to appear even in the British channel, and landed and carried away into slavery the people of the south coast of Ireland, and the French and the Dutch fished with impunity in the British seas. But Charles had another reason for wishing to be master of a powerful navy. His anxiety for the recovery of the Palatinate, and probably his dislike of Calvinism and freedom had caused him in 1631 to sign a secret treaty with Spain for the conquest of Holland, his share of the spoil to be the isle of Zealand*. Yet so inconsistent and insincere was this ill-judging prince, that the very next year (1632) he entered into a negotiation with the malcontents of the Low Countries to aid them in casting off the yoke of Spain, in the hope of obtaining the sovereignty for himself, or perhaps with a view to the interest of the Elector Palatine. But there was a Spanish party in his council, and lord Cottington informed the court of Madrid of the intrigue†. Charles then adhered to the former treaty, till aware that the house of Austria was only illuding him, he was induced by the queen's party in the cabinet to form closer relations with the court of France; yet he still made overtures to that of Spain, and the consequence was that he drew on himself the secret enmity of both.

Charles had now a fleet of sixty sail, and the purpose for which the ship-money had been imposed was thus fully answered. But the precedents collected by Noy it was

* Clarendon Papers, i. 49. ii. Append. xxvi. Hallam, ii. 17.

† Hardwick Papers, ii. 54. Hallam, ii. 18.

now thought might be made to extend much further, and give origin to a source of permanent revenue. The honour of this discovery is ascribed to the late speaker Finch, now chief justice of the common pleas. Writs for the levy of ship-money were accordingly directed to the sheriffs of *all* the counties, and when the people murmured, an opinion of the twelve judges in favour of its legality was obtained by the court and published. Some, however, ventured to appeal to the laws against it. The first was the stout-hearted citizen John Chambers, who brought an action against the lord mayor for imprisoning him on his refusal to pay it. Lord Say and Mr. Hampden also appealed to justice, and the decision in the case of the latter seemed to set the matter to rest, and show that there was no redress to be looked for.

John Hampden was a gentleman of good fortune in Buckinghamshire, who had sat in all the parliaments since the year 1620: he was the friend of Eliot, and, like him, strenuous in maintaining the rights of the people. Being now assessed twenty shillings ship-money, he refused to pay it. The cause was brought before the twelve judges in the exchequer chamber, and was argued in behalf of Hampden by St. John and Holborne; on the part of the crown by Bankes the attorney- and Littleton the solicitor-general. Hampden's counsel urged that the constitution had provided in various ways for the public safety, by the ordinary revenues and by parliamentary supplies. They showed from Magna Charta, the Confirmation of the Charters, the statute "De Tallagio non Concedendo," and other acts of the legislature, that the consent of parliament is necessary to legal taxation; they asserted that none of the precedents adduced on the other side applied to the case of an inland county, and concluded by appealing to the Petition of Right. The king's counsel on their side adduced the Danegelt of the Anglo-Saxon times and the precedents collected by Noy, many of which certainly bore a strong analogy to the present case, but they were

in early times, and could not claim authority like the afore-said statutes. "But," said Bankes, "this power is innate in the person of an absolute king, and in the persons of the kings of England. It is not any ways derived from the people, but reserved unto the king when positive laws first began. For the king of England, he is an absolute monarch; nothing can be given to an absolute prince but what is inherent in his nature. He can do no wrong; he is the sole judge, and we ought not to question him." "This imposition without parliament," said judge Crawley, "appertains to the king originally, and to the successor *ipso facto*, if he be a sovereign, in right of his sovereignty from the crown. You cannot have a king without these royal rights, no, not by act of parliament." Finch maintained that no act of parliament could bar the king of his right to defend his people, and that therefore acts "to bind the king not to command the subjects, their persons and goods, and their money, too," are void.

Seven of the twelve judges gave judgement for the crown; the remaining five in favour of Hampden; Croke and Hutton, two of the most distinguished, denying in the strongest terms the alleged right of the crown, and the legality of the writ for ship-money*. The tax was now adjudged lawful, but the judgement, as Clarendon observes, "proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned (Mr. Hampden) than to the king's service." The high notions of the royal authority put forth by the crown lawyers alarmed all classes of people, for they saw no limitation to it but the royal will; and though Charles himself might be an Antonine, it would be put in the power of his successor to be a Tiberius. Ship-money henceforth was very reluctantly paid: it is said not to have averaged

* Croke intended at first to give judgement for the king, but his wife, "a good and pious woman," told him, says Whitelock, "that she hoped he would do nothing against his conscience, for fear of any danger or prejudice to him or his family; and that she would be contented to suffer want or any misery with him rather than be an occasion for him to do or say anything against his judgement and conscience."

more than 200,000*l.* a-year, a sum, however, equal to three subsidies.

The indomitable Prynne had from his dungeon put forth a tract called 'News from Ipswich,' in which he assailed the prelates with great violence; Bastwick, too, had written diatribes against them, and a clergyman named Burton, who had been chaplain to Charles when prince, took the same ground. They were prosecuted in the star-chamber, and sentenced to pay each a fine of 5000*l.*, to stand in the pillory, have their ears cut off, and be imprisoned during life*. They were sent to the castles of Carnarvon, Lancaster, and Launceston, and were afterwards removed to Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly.

Williams, bishop of Lincoln, though no model of moral perfection, was a man in ability greatly superior to Laud, with whose new-fangled theology he did not agree, and he had much more statesmanlike ideas on the mode of dealing with the puritans. Though it was chiefly through Williams that Laud had obtained his first bishoprick, he had no feeling of gratitude, and he was bent on his ruin. Williams was therefore accused in the star-chamber of divulging secrets of state; while this case was pending he was charged with tampering with the king's witnesses, and was suspended from his office, fined 10,000*l.*, and sentenced to be imprisoned during pleasure in the Tower. Afterwards a letter from Osbaldiston, master of Westminster-school, in which the words "little urchin" and "little great man" were thought to be meant for Laud, being found among the prelate's papers, he was sentenced to pay a further fine of 5000*l.* to the king and 3000*l.* to the archbishop.

The state of civil and religious despotism to which they were now subjected made men seek for a place of retreat, and they cast their eyes on the distant shores of the New World. In 1629 a charter had been obtained for the colony

* Prynne now lost the remainder of his ears. There was an absurd report that on the former occasion he had them stitched on again.

of Massachussets-bay, and about three hundred and fifty religious sectaries sailed thither. Numbers followed in the subsequent years, and the settlements were extended through the province, which was henceforth named New England. After the failure of the attempt to resist the levying of ship-money, persons of higher rank, the lords Say and Brook, sir Arthur Haselrig, Hampden, his kinsman Oliver Cromwell, and others, resolved to quit their now enslaved and degraded country. These last, it is said, were actually on board the vessel which was to take them off (1638), when a proclamation, dictated by the bigotry of Laud, appeared, forbidding masters of ships to carry out any passenger who had not a license from the privy council, and a testimonial of conformity from the minister of his parish.

Such was the condition of things in England; the affairs of Scotland will now claim our attention.

In the year 1633 Charles visited his native kingdom for the first time since his accession. He was received with great affection and loyalty, and crowned with the usual splendour; but Laud, his evil genius, attended him, and the prejudices of the people were shocked by the appearance of an altar with wax tapers and a crucifix, before which the officiating prelates bowed as they passed; and when the archbishop of Glasgow declined wearing the gorgeous habits provided for him, Laud rudely forced him from the side of the king, and put Maxwell bishop of Ross in his place.

A parliament followed, which gave the king an occasion for displaying his arbitrary temper, and served to alienate from him the affections of many of his nobles. He had, indeed, some years before inflicted a wound, which still rankled, by a measure for the redemption of the churchlands and tithes which the nobility and gentry had so ravenously seized at the time of the Reformation: for it must be confessed, that whatever value the Scottish people may set on religion, liberty, and other important matters,

there is no point on which they are more tremblingly alive than in what concerns their property.

Charles left Scotland after sowing the seeds of future troubles, and the prosecution of lord Balmerino shortly after powerfully aided to alienate the nobility. This nobleman, who had been one of the opposition in parliament, happened to have in his possession a copy of an apology for their conduct, which he and his friends intended to present, but were withheld by the fear of exciting the royal displeasure. A transcript of this was surreptitiously obtained by one who was his private enemy, and communicated to the archbishop of St. Andrews, by whom it was conveyed to the king, with an assurance that it had been circulated for signature throughout Scotland, and that it was the nobles who upheld the clergy in their opposition to the surplice. Balmerino was therefore selected for an example, and he was indicted on the statute of *leasing-making*, or causing discord between the king and his people. A jury, with lord Traquair, one of the ministers, for foreman, was selected to try him; yet so flagrantly iniquitous was the proceeding, that even *that* jury found him guilty only by the majority of the foreman's casting vote. The people were furious at this decision, and it was resolved in secret consultations, that if anything happened to him, they would massacre those who had found him guilty. Traquair on learning this hasted up to London, and a pardon was granted to Balmerino; but the impression which his danger had made on the minds of the nobility and people was deep and permanent.

In religion matters were pushed on in order to bring Scotland to a uniformity with England. The bishops began to appropriate the civil dignities to themselves. Archbishop Spottiswood was made chancellor; Maxwell bishop of Ross aspired to the office of lord treasurer; and of the fourteen prelates, nine were members of the privy council. They had courts with powers similar to those of the court of high commission in England; and, acting

under the influence of Laud, they proceeded to draw up canons and a liturgy for the church of Scotland. They commenced with the former, sanctioning the latter before it was prepared. The whole structure of presbytery was dissolved by these canons. Each church was to have a font at the entrance and an altar in the chancel; and various other regulations were made which the people regarded as little better than popery. The liturgy which was compiled was formed on that of the church of England, but came nearer to the mass, of which a report soon spread that it was nothing more than a translation. From the pulpits the clergy declaimed against it; it was reprobated in conversation and in pamphlets. Spottiswood and the elder and more experienced prelates recommended great caution in introducing it; but on its transmission to London and approval by Laud, a royal proclamation was issued enjoining it to be used in every parish-church in the kingdom by a certain day.

On the appointed day (July 23, 1637), the dean of Edinburgh prepared to officiate according to the liturgy in St. Giles's, the bishop of Argyle in the Grey-friars' church; the judges, prelates, and members of the privy council were present in the former, which was thronged with people. The service began, when an old woman, it is said, filled with zeal, sprang up and flung the stool she sat on at the dean's head, crying, "Villain! dost thou say the mass at my lug?" A tumult arose, the women rushed to seize the dean, and he escaped with difficulty; the bishop of Edinburgh ascended the pulpit to appease the people; sticks and stones were flung at him; and but for the aid of the magistrates, he would have perished on the spot. In the other church the service was interrupted by tears, groans, and lamentations, but there was no violence. Throughout the rest of Scotland, the efforts of the prelates were unavailing, and the liturgy was used only at St. Andrew's and in three other cathedrals.

The clergy had been directed to purchase two copies of

the liturgy for each parish, and the prelates now proceeded to enforce obedience to this mandate. A divine named Henderson and three others presented supplications to suspend the charge. These being backed by several of the nobility and gentry, and the general aversion to the liturgy becoming manifest, the council made a representation to the king, obscurely intimating a desire that the liturgy should be recalled. But prudent concession was a thing unknown to Charles; a stern reproof and an injunction of the immediate adoption of the ritual were the answer returned. The consequence was an immense accession to the number of the supplications and an organisation of the opponents of the liturgy throughout the kingdom.

In the month of October vast numbers of people flocked to Edinburgh to learn the king's reply to the supplications which had been transmitted to him. A proclamation ordered them to disperse; they in return drew up an accusation against the prelates on account of the canons and liturgy, which was rapidly subscribed by the nobility, gentry, clergy, and people all through Scotland. The following month they re-assembled in increased force, and having obtained permission of the council to choose representatives to carry on the accusation, they appointed several of the nobility, two gentlemen for each county, and one or more of the clergy and burgesses for each presbytery and borough. Thus were formed the celebrated *Tables*, or committees, which being subdivided and regulated, gave order and consistency to their union. Their demands now increased; they required the abrogation of the high commission, the canons and the liturgy. To this neither Laud nor the king could yield without the ruin of their favourite plans, and a proclamation was issued censuring the supplicants, and forbidding them to assemble under the penalties of treason.

This was a fatal measure to the crown; for the *Tables* forthwith resolved on a renewal of the national covenant,

the bond of religious union first adopted by the Lords of the Congregation, and twice renewed in the reign of James. It took its name and character from the covenants of Israel with Jehovah recorded in the Scriptures, and it also partook much of the nature of the bonds of mutual defence and maintenance which had long prevailed in Scotland. It was now drawn up by Henderson, the leader of the clergy, and by Johnstone of Wariston, a distinguished advocate. It renounced popery and all its doctrines, practices, and claims in the strongest terms; and then declaring the liturgy and canons to be thus virtually renounced, concluded with an obligation to resist them, to defend each other, and to support the king in preserving religion, liberty, and law. The supplicants were invited by the Tables to repair to a solemn meeting at Edinburgh; a fast was appointed, and the preachers, as directed, recommended a renewal of the covenant. Accordingly, on the 1st of March 1638, in the Grey-friars' church, it was solemnly renewed with prayer and spiritual exhortations. The nobility, gentry, clergy, and thousands of all orders, sexes, and ages subscribed it; copies were transmitted to all parts of the kingdom, and it was everywhere subscribed with shouts of joy, or with tears of contrition for their past defections. Within two months all Scotland (Aberdeen excepted) was banded to the covenant. Men saw in it the hand of Heaven; the austerity of devotion increased; a religious gloom soon pervaded all the relations of social life, and the fanatic spirit assumed new vigour.

An independent assembly and a free parliament were the demands of the covenanters. The court employed every art to illude them, being secretly resolved to have recourse to arms. With this view all their demands (after Charles had taken sufficient care to convince them of his insincerity,) were suddenly conceded, and an assembly was held at Glasgow (Nov. 21) to regulate the church. The marquess of Hamilton, the king's representative, was instructed to excite jealousies among the members, and if he found it

restive, to dissolve it. Seeing he could not manage it, he therefore, under the pretext of its being irregularly chosen, and consequently not competent to the trial of prelates, one of the measures proposed, declared it dissolved, but the members refused to separate; their resolution was approved of by many of the privy council, and the accession to their side of the potent earl of Argyle gave them increased courage. The acts of the six preceding assemblies were forthwith annulled, the canons, liturgy, and high commission were condemned, and episcopacy was abolished. Eight of the bishops were excommunicated, four deposed, and two suspended. And thus was prostrated at one blow the fabric which it had occupied two reigns to erect.

✓ It had been Hamilton's advice to the king from the beginning to have recourse to arms, and the necessary preparations had therefore been made. To procure money, loans were required from the nobility; under the influence of Laud, the church contributed largely; and the catholics, at the call of the queen, and well aware that it was their interest to support the crown from which alone they could expect favour, gave their money for the support of the *Episcopal War* as it was denominated. Arms and artillery were provided, the counties were directed to send their trained-bands or militia, and the peers to lead their retainers in arms to York; a negotiation (which however was frustrated) was also entered into with the regency of the Netherlands for the use of six thousand veterans. The covenanters, on their side, prepared for a defensive war. By means of the numerous Scottish pedlers who hawked their wares through England, they opened a communication with the English puritans*. Richelieu, willing to re-

* They were also secretly informed of all the king's counsels and designs; for Charles, like his father, had a portion of that indiscriminate partiality for their countrymen which almost amounts to a vice in the Scottish character. Hence most of the offices in the court were occupied by Scotsmen,—they were gentlemen of the bed-chamber, grooms of the stole, gentlemen-ushers, carvers, cupbearers, etc. In *them* too nationality predominated over loyalty,

pay Charles in kind, secretly supplied them with money, and arms and ammunition were purchased on the continent. The covenant was sent to the Scots in the Swedish service for their subscription; and Alexander Lesley, an officer of great experience in the wars of Germany, was invited over to take the command of the army which was to be raised. Many other able officers also returned to the defence of their country; the pulpits inculcated the justice of defensive warfare, and resounded with the curse of Meroz on those "who came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty." Volunteers crowded to the standards and were disciplined by Lesley and his officers; the royal castles were all surprised, and the port of Leith was put into a state of defence. When the Gordons rose under their chief, the earl of Huntley, to maintain the royal cause in the north, the earl of Montrose marched against them, and compelled Huntley to come as a hostage to Edinburgh.

The king advanced at the head of twenty-three thousand men to Berwick. Lesley took his position at Dunse-law; while Munro, the second in command, was stationed at Kelso. The armies were about equal in number; the king was superior in cavalry, but in infantry the advantage was entirely on the side of the Scots, who, in addition to superior discipline and better officers, were animated by a spirit of fanatic devotion, while the English soldiers were utterly indifferent to the cause in which they were engaged. The Scottish camp continually resounded with psalmody and prayer; morning and evening the men were summoned to their devotions by beat of drum, and two sermons each day kept up their fervour.

Lord Holland, who commanded the English cavalry, advanced to Kelso, but at the sight of the Scottish forces his gratitude and honour; they watched their master's looks, they marked his words, they even stole his letters out of his pockets and transcribed them, and all was sent to Scotland. (See Carte, iv. 258.) Mr. Brodie (ii. 480) compliments the covenanters on their "vigilance and means of acquiring information." Perhaps he was ignorant of what their means were.

men turned and fled. The king, who had expected that the Scottish nation would have submitted at once on his appearance at the head of an army, saw his hopes all baffled, and now easily discerned that all who attended him were adverse to a war; Laud too, aware of the superior strength of the Scots, counselled peace, and the Scots themselves were very reluctant to carry matters to an extremity with their sovereign. Proposals for an accommodation were therefore readily listened to; Scottish commissioners came to the royal camp (June 11), the king treated with them in person, and it was arranged that a parliament and a general assembly should meet in the month of August to regulate the affairs of church and state. The Scottish army was then disbanded, and the royal castles were restored.

The assembly and the parliament met at the appointed time; the former came to the same conclusions respecting episcopacy and the other matters as that of Glasgow had done; and Traquair, who presided over it, gave the royal assent to them. For this he had the king's permission; who, however, was resolved to revoke, when he should have the power, these, in his mind, unlawful concessions. The parliament not proving manageable was prorogued for six months.

Charles now summoned lord Wentworth over from Ireland, where he had for some years held the office of lord-deputy. He consulted with him, Laud, and Hamilton on the affairs of Scotland, and the result of their deliberations was a resolution to reduce the Scots by force of arms. Some other members of the council were then added to them, in order to deliberate on the mode of providing funds for the war; at their instances, Charles agreed to call a parliament*: meantime writs were issued for the levy of ship-money, and the lords subscribed various sums, Wentworth giving the example by putting down his name for 20,000*l*. It was arranged that the parliament should not

* According to Whitelock, it was Charles himself who proposed this measure.

be called till the following April, in order to give Wentworth an opportunity of holding a parliament previously in Ireland, to which country he returned with the title of lord-lieutenant; he was also elevated in the English peerage by being created earl of Strafford.

The covenanters had sent the earls of Dumfermline and Loudon, and sir William Douglas and Mr. Barclay as their commissioners to London, to complain to the king of the prorogation of the parliament and other injuries; they were also, it would appear, instructed to deal with the discontented English*. Traquair, however, had got possession of the copy of a letter addressed to the king of France, (*au Roi*) and signed by Lesley, Mar, Rothes, *Montrose*, Montgomery, Loudon, and the secretary Forrester, justifying their cause and asking for aid†. The commissioners, therefore, were arrested, and Loudon was committed to the Tower. It is said that a warrant was issued for his execution without any trial; but the lieutenant, who was a Scotsman, took it to the marquess of Hamilton, who, though it was midnight, entered the apartment of the king and prevailed on him to recall it, or else Scotland, he said, would be lost for ever. We trust that this story is not true; Charles, though a despot, was not a man of blood.

The earl of Strafford having held his parliament in Ireland, where his will was law, and obtained an unconditional grant of money, and levied an army of eight thousand men,

* "They had great resort to them," says Whitelock, "and many secret councils held with them by the discontented English, chiefly by those who favoured presbytery and were no friends to bishops, or had suffered in the late censures in the star-chamber, exchequer, high-commission, and other judicatories. *They also who inclined to a republic* had much correspondence with them, and they courted all, fomented every discontent, and made large and religious promises of future happy times. The earls of Essex, Bedford, Holland, the lord Say, Hampden, Pym, and divers other lords and gentlemen of great interest and quality were deep in with them."

† The fact of this letter's having been sent was long disputed. Mr. Mazure (*Hist. de la Révolut. de 1688*, iii. 405) has put the matter out of doubt by printing it.

returned to England, and on the 13th of April 1640, after an interval of twelve years, a parliament met at Westminster. Though the majority of the members had never sitten before, the composition of the house of commons was the same as ever, the puritan and patriotic party greatly preponderating in it. The king, on the opening of the session, having addressed them in a few brief terms, the lord-keeper related all the proceedings of Scotland, and telling them that "his majesty did not expect advice from them, much less that they should interpose in any office of mediation, which would not be grateful to him," required them to grant a supply forthwith, after which they should have time enough given them to represent any grievance, and have a favourable answer. The commons having then chosen serjeant Glanville speaker, prepared to proceed to business*, and "whilst men," says Clarendon, "gazed upon each other, looking who should begin, (much the greatest part having never before sat in parliament,) Mr. Pym, a man of good reputation, but much better known afterwards, who had been as long in those assemblies as any man then living, brake the ice." In a speech of two hours' length, he enumerated and displayed all the grievances which afflicted the state, under the heads of breach of privilege of parliament, injury to the established religion†, and invasion of the subjects' rights of liberty and property. Having then shown that these were as hurtful to the crown as to the people, he proposed that the lords should be invited to join in a petition to the king, and in

* "The house met always at eight of the clock and rose at twelve; which were the old parliament hours; that the committees, upon whom the greatest burden of business lay, might have the afternoons for their preparation and dispatch." Clarendon, i. 233.

† "The principles of popery," said he, "are such as are incompatible with any other religion. There may be a suspension of violence for some by certain respects; but the ultimate end even of that moderation is, that they may with more advantage extirpate that which is opposite to them. Laws will not restrain them; oaths will not. The pope can dispense with both these; and where there is occasion, his command will move them to the disturbance of

searching out the causes and remedies of these evils. Other members followed in the same strain ; but when one of them termed ship-money an *abomination*, he was called to the bar and narrowly escaped being reprimanded. Clarendon mentions this "that the temper and sobriety of that house may be taken notice of."

The court being impatient for the money prevailed on the peers to urge the commons to begin with the supply. This interference was voted to be a high breach of privilege. The king then sent to say that if they would grant him twelve subsidies, to be paid in three years, he would release all his title or pretence to ship-money in future. This matter was debated for two days, when, on the proposal of Mr. Hyde, that the question of supply simply should be first put, sir Henry Vane, the treasurer, said that he had authority to state that the king would only accept of it in the manner and proportion proposed in his message. He was followed by the solicitor-general, and it being near five o'clock, the house adjourned. Next day (May 5), the king dissolved the parliament. Three members were then committed, and a declaration was published giving the reasons for the dissolution, charging the disaffected members "with attempting to direct the government, and to examine and censure its acts as if kings were bound to give an account of their regal actions and of their manner of government to their subjects assembled in parliament." Thus abruptly terminated the Short Parliament, as it was named: contrary to the usual custom, the convocation continued to sit till the end of the month ; it passed canons ordering the clergy to teach the people the divine right of kings, and the damnable sin of resist-

the realm against their own private disposition, yea, against their own reason and judgement, to obey him. The king and the kingdom can have no security but in their weakness and disability to do hurt." How well Pym understood the genius of popery ! The catholics at the present day assure us, that their religion is unchanged and unchangeable, yet such is our extreme liberality that we will not believe them.

ance to their authority, imposing on them the *et cætera* oath* as it was named, and regulating the position of the communion table and so forth, and finally granting the king a benevolence of four shillings in the pound for six years.

The dissolution was a matter of exultation to Pym and his friends, for they knew that the king must soon call another parliament. Oliver St. John said to Hyde, "that all was well, and that it would be worse before it could be better, and that this parliament could never have done what was necessary to be done." Their communications with the Scottish agents now became more frequent, and their future tactics were arranged.

Preparations for invading Scotland were now made; the voluntary loan produced 300,000*l.*; the counties were required to supply each a certain proportion of men, provide them with coat- and conduct-money, and furnish horses. It was proposed to invade Scotland with 20,000 men from England and 10,000 men from Ireland, while Hamilton should pour down with 10,000 more from the Highlands. The want of funds, however, and the activity of the covenanters, frustrated this plan. Charles gave the chief command of his army to the earl of Northumberland, but that nobleman falling sick he took it himself; Strafford was lieutenant-general: lord Conway, who was a military man, commanded the cavalry.

Conway marched with the first troops that were levied into Northumberland. The Scottish army of 26,000 men was encamped at Dunse, and on the 12th of August, at the desire, as they thought, of their English friends†, they crossed the Tweed, and entered England. Conway pre-

* The oath was to maintain the church as it was. One of the clauses was, "Nor give consent to alter the government of this church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c."

† Lord Savile wrote them a letter to which he forged the signatures of some of the leading opposition peers inviting them to enter England.

pared to dispute the passage of the Tyne at Newburn, but it was forced by the Scots, who speedily became masters of the two northern counties, which being the coal counties, enabled them to distress the city of London whenever they pleased. At the same time they forced the inhabitants to pay them 5600*l.* a-week, and they seized the property of the clergy and the catholics.

The king was now at York with an ill-affected army. He had summoned a great council of the peers to meet him there on the 24th of September, and he proposed to lay before it the petition which the Scots now sent him; he had also received a petition subscribed by twelve peers, and another signed by ten thousand citizens of London, praying him to call a parliament, a measure which his council also advised. Accordingly, when the great council met he announced his intention of calling a parliament for the 3rd of November, and sixteen peers then proceeded to Ripon to negotiate with the Scots. The treaty was soon transferred to London, and it was arranged that till it was concluded the northern counties should pay the Scots 5600*l.* a-week, to be repaid out of the first supply granted by parliament.

The despotism of Charles had now reached its close. We have exposed it freely; we have shown that it went to depriving the nation of all that is most valuable to civilised man. The lives, the liberties, the properties of the people, were to be at the disposal of the monarch, who held himself accountable to Heaven alone for the exercise of the powers which he claimed. A galling ecclesiastical tyranny also pressed on the people, fettering conscience and controlling the free expression of thought. Is there any one so base, so unworthy of the name of freeman, as to regret that this state of things has not been perpetuated to our own times? And what certainty have we that such would not have been the case had Charles not been checked in his career; and that popery would not again have over-

spread the land, if he had transmitted the plenitude of despotism to his popish sons*? We are now to witness the conduct of the men who broke that power, and to treat them with the same impartiality which we have employed in the case of the monarch.

* We think we are justified in supposing that they would have been such by the document published by Mr. D'Israeli (*Cur. of Lit.*, iii. 397) from the 'Ambassades de Bassompierre' (iii. 49), which, as he says, "is nothing less than a most solemn obligation contracted by the queen with the pope and her brother the king of France, to educate her children as catholics, and only to choose catholics to attend them. In this matter she would easily have triumphed over the uxoriousness of Charles."

CHAPTER V.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED).

1640—1641.

The Long Parliament.—Impeachment and trial of Strafford.—Army-plot.—Execution of Strafford.—Arts of the popular leaders.

ON the 3rd of November, 1640, that parliament met, whose deeds, for good or for evil, have rendered it, with one exception, the most memorable assembly in the annals of the world. The greatest exertions had been made by both parties to procure returns favourable to their political views; but the efforts of Pym, Hampden, and the other leaders of the popular party, joined with the feelings of the electors themselves, who saw the necessity of a reform in the state, had obtained them a triumph in most places over their opponents. But to the honour of our forefathers, and the disgrace of our own self-styled age of intellect, it is to be recorded, that in no single case did the popular choice fall, as we have seen it fall, on the vulgar demagogue, the political charlatan, the bankrupt in fame or fortune, who caajoled his constituents by affecting to have no will of his own, and to be in the legislature merely the mouthpiece of their notions and whims. The members of the Long Parliament, as this was subsequently styled, were in general men of high moral character, of cultivated minds, and of independent fortunes, the landed property of the commons being said to be the treble of that of the peers. In a word, a more august assembly than that which now met at Westminster has never appeared on the scene of the world.

Yet partiality must not blind us; we must not give the reins to imagination, and view in the Pym, the Hampdens, and the St. Johns of those days men without blemish,

raised above the common lot of humanity, and incapable of artifice or error. We shall find them employing the arts inseparable from political parties, acting at times in violation of the principles of justice, and treading in the footprints of the despotism which they sought to restrain. We have not hidden the faults of the king; we will not pass over in silence those of the parliament.

It may be of advantage here to enumerate some of the men in this parliament who took the lead in opposing the excesses of the prerogative. In the house of peers the principal were Percy, earl of Northumberland; Wriothesley of Southampton; Devereux of Essex; Rich of Warwick, and his brother of Holland; Russell of Bedford; Hollis of Clare; Herbert of Pembroke; Cecil of Salisbury; and Fiennes, viscount Say; Greville, lord Brooke; and Montague, lord Mandeville, son to the earl of Manchester, who sat as baron Kimbolton. Most of these were men of honour and principle, desirous of reforming, but of preserving the constitution in church and state. Say and Brooke alone wished to overturn the church, but both on conscientious motives. Holland and Pembroke were men of no principle. The former had been a creature of Buckingham, who procured for him a marriage with the heiress of Cope, lord of the manor of Kensington, by which title he was created a baron; and then had him placed about the prince of Wales, made earl of Holland, knight of the garter, &c. After the death of his patron he attached himself to the queen, and no man enjoyed more of the court-favour. It was hatred of Strafford that placed him in the ranks of the patriots, and not regard to the interests of his country. Pembroke was a man thoroughly contemptible. He was indebted for his rank to his handsome person and his skill in horses and dogs, which won him the favour of king James, combined with the merit of having tamely put up with a switching from one of the insolent Scottish favourites*. According to Clarendon, it was fear of impeach-

* See Osborne.

ment that made him a patriot. The character of Salisbury was little more estimable than that of Pembroke.

In the commons the leading men were Pym and Hampden (of whom we shall have abundant occasion to speak); Denzil Hollis, brother to lord Clare; Pierrepont, son of the earl of Kingston; Nathaniel Fiennes, son of lord Say; Oliver St. John, a natural son of the house of Bolingbroke; sir Henry Vane, son of the secretary; lord Digby, son of the earl of Bristol; Lucius Cary, viscount Falkland; sir Arthur Haselrig; sir Henry Mildmay; sir John Colepepper; sir William Armyn; Henry Martin; the lawyers Hyde (afterwards earl of Clarendon), Whitelock, Glyn, Maynard, Palmer, and others. Of these, Falkland, Digby, Colepepper, Hyde, and others, who were as zealous in the correction of abuses at the first as any, when they saw the ulterior objects of their coadjutors, joined the party of the king. Vane, Haselrig, and Martin alone might be regarded as decided republicans at the commencement. Of these, Vane was an extremely honest and able but eccentric statesman: Haselrig was a bold, hot-headed, overbearing man: Martin was witty and ingenious, but without religion, and notoriously dissolute.

The views of the popular leaders may be collected from the following incident. A few days before the parliament met, as Pym and Hyde were conversing on the state of affairs, the former said, "that they must now be of another temper than they were the last parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make their country happy, by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, if all men would do their duties," and much more to the same effect*. The parliament, Clarendon observes, "had a sad and a melancholic

* Clarendon, i. 298.

aspect upon the first entrance, which presaged some unusual and unnatural events." The king did not go in his usual state, taking his way thither by water. He was also disappointed in his expectation of having the recorder of London, sir Thomas Gardiner, chosen speaker, as he was not returned for any place. His choice then fell upon a lawyer named Lenthall, a man of good practice in the law, but of no parliamentary experience, and little calculated to maintain the dignity of his office.

The first week was employed in the formation of committees and the reception of petitions, many of which were brought up by troops of horsemen from the country. On the 10th the earl of Strafford came up from the north, at the earnest desire of the king. He was aware of his danger, knowing himself to be the object of the hostility of the popular party, and of the Scots; but the king gave him his solemn assurance, "that the parliament should not touch one hair of his head." The next day Pym suddenly rose, and stating that he had matter of high import to communicate, desired that the strangers' room should be cleared, the outer door of the house be locked, and the key laid on the clerk's table. When all this was done, he rose, and dilating on all the illegal acts that had been done, and magnifying the virtues of the king, added, "We must inquire from what fountain these waters of bitterness flowed," and who they were that had perverted the king's excellent judgement. He then proceeded to say, that "he believed there was one more signal in that administration than the rest, being a man of great parts and contrivance, and of great industry to bring what he designed to pass; a man who in the memory of many present had sat in that house an earnest vindicator of the laws, and a most zealous assertor and champion for the liberties of the people, but long since turned apostate from those good affections, and according to the custom and nature of apostates, was become the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny that any age had

duced." He then named Thomas earl of Strafford, and ran through the whole history of his administration in the North and in Ireland, "adding," says Clarendon, "some lighter passages of his vanity and amours; that they who were not inflamed with anger and detestation against him for the former, might have less esteem and reverence for his prudence and discretion." Other speakers followed in the same strain. A message then came from the lords, desiring a conference, but a reply was made that they were engaged in weighty business; notice was at the same time sent to their friends in the peers to keep that house from rising. It was finally moved to impeach the earl of high-treason, no one dissenting, only lord Falkland (who was no friend to him) suggesting that it were better to digest the accusation previously in a committee. But Pym said that that would blast all their hopes, as the earl, when he got notice of it, would procure the parliament to be dissolved. It was resolved then to proceed at once; the doors were thrown open, and Pym issued forth at the head of three hundred members, and at the bar of the house of lords impeached the earl of high-treason, in the name of the commons of England.

Strafford, who had been in conference with the king, hastened to the house, and "with a proud glooming countenance," was making toward his place at the board-head, but he was ordered to retire. He obeyed: after some delay he was recalled, and directed to kneel at the bar; he was then delivered over to the usher of the black-rod, to be kept in custody. He passed to his coach through a crowd of people, "all gazing," says Baillie, "no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest of England would have stood discovered." None, however, insulted him*.

The impeachment of Strafford was certainly a masterly

* As Ireland and the north of England were the scenes of his public acts the people of London could not have much immediate knowledge of his character.

manœuvre on the part of the popular leaders, and the unanimity of the vote proves the general feeling of his being a chief encourager of the royal excesses. But if it be true that *he* was prepared to impeach *them* for their dealings with the Scots, the purity of their patriotism on this occasion may be questioned. A further stroke of policy was the impeachment of his friend sir George Radcliffe, whose evidence might be of advantage to the earl.

The objects aimed at were good, but the strait path of justice was not always followed by the patriots. A committee of elections unseated many members who did not suit their views. "It was often said by leading men amongst them," says Clarendon, "that they ought in those cases to be guided by the fitness and worthiness of the person, whatever the desire of those was in whom the right of election remained. And therefore one man hath been admitted upon the same rule by which another hath been rejected." One of their rules was that no one should sit "who had been a party or a favourer of any project, or who had been employed in any illegal commission." On this ground they unseated several; but the king afterwards charged them with not having applied their rule impartially, passing over their own friends, sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Whitaker, "who had been scandalously engaged in those pressures."

Under the newly-adopted term of *Delinquents*, all the lieutenants and deputies of counties who had exercised powers not strictly warranted by statute were brought into danger. The sheriffs and all concerned in raising ship-money were also voted delinquents. The farmers and officers of the customs were similarly treated. The judgement in the case of Hampden was reversed; those judges who had given it were obliged to give large security to abide the judgement of the parliament. One of them, sir John Berkeley, was arrested as he sat on the bench, and carried to prison, "which struck," says Whitelock, "a great terror in the rest of his brethren then sitting in Westmin-

ster-hall, and in all his profession," as no doubt it was meant that it should.

An impeachment against Laud was also carried up to the lords by Denzil Hollis, and that prelate was committed to the black-rod. The lord-keeper Finch and secretary Windebank being menaced with impeachment, fled to the continent.

Bishop Williams, who had lain for three years in the Tower, was now released ; so also was the unfortunate Leighton. Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, were recalled from their island-prisons, and they entered London in a kind of triumph, being followed by five thousand persons, men and women, on horseback, wearing bay and rosemary in their hats. Those who had passed sentence on them were now adjudged to pay them heavy damages.

All the modes by which the king had been of late in the habit of raising money were resolved to be illegal. To secure the benefits resulting from this resolution, a bill was brought in (Jan. 19, 1641) that a parliament should be called every third year, and if the crown and the proper authorities neglected to call it, the people should meet of themselves, and choose their representatives. To this bill the king gave his assent (Feb. 15), and the people testified their joy by bonfires and illuminations.

Petitions against episcopacy or its abuses poured in from all quarters. One signed by two thousand of the clergy prayed for the extinction of the order; another to the same effect, called the Root and Branch petition, came from fifteen thousand citizens of London. The Scottish commissioners, eager to set up their own idol, exerted themselves zealously. "Against the bishops," says Baillie, "we pray, preach, and print what we are able most freely. . . . There is a world of pamphlets here. . . . Their utter abolition, which is the only aim of the most godly, is the knot of the question. We must have it cut by the axe of prayer." Fasts were also held, he adds, that "the Lord might join

the breath of his nostrils with the endeavours of weak men to blow up a wicked and anti-scriptural church."

During all this time a committee of the commons were busily engaged in preparing heads of accusation against Strafford. To give him as little chance as possible, they bound themselves to strict secrecy as to their proceedings, by a kind of voluntary oath. The king, on his part, in his anxiety to save him, sought to conciliate his opponents, and the lords Bristol, Essex, Bedford, Hertford, Mandeville, Savile, and Say, were sworn of the privy council. He was even induced to take a further step, and listen to a proposal to "prefer some of the *grandeess* to offices at court, whereby Strafford's enemies should become his friends, and the king's desires be promoted*." The proposed arrangement was, that the earl of Bedford should be treasurer, and his follower Pym (who sat for his borough of Tavistock) his chancellor of the exchequer, lord Say master of the court of wards, Denzil Hollis secretary of state, Oliver St. John solicitor-general. Hampden, it is said, was to be tutor to the prince, and others were to be otherwise provided for†. But from one cause or other these promotions did not take effect, and "the great men," adds Whitelock, "baffled thereby, became the more incensed and violent against the earl, joining with the Scots commissioners, who were implacable against him." When to this remark of one who could not well be mistaken, we add the following anecdote, it may be doubted if the men who sought Strafford's blood were such models of public virtue as their admirers make them. At the time of Strafford's apostasy he and Pym met at Greenwich; they conversed awhile on public affairs, and as they were concluding, the

* Whitelock. The term *grandeess* is of frequent occurrence in the writings of that time; it is applied to the leading men in the parliament and army.

† "The great men," says Clarendon with a sneer, "thought they might be able to do their country better service if they got the places and preferments, and so prevented the evil counsels which had used to spring from thence."

latter said, "You are going to leave us, but I will never leave you while your head is upon your shoulders." This threat was uttered before Strafford had committed any greater offence than that of abandoning those with whom he had lately acted, but to whose party he had never properly belonged.

Strafford, it is not to be denied, was a despot by nature, and therefore if the court had not won him, he would, by natural consequence, have become the most formidable of demagogues. Attached to the crown the grand object of his life was to render it absolute. In his presidency of the North he was arbitrary and rigorous in the extreme, but he had only the king's service in view, and he was impartial in his despotism. When he was appointed to the government of Ireland (1632) he went over to that "conquered country," as he styled it, fully determined to make his master, as far as *it* was concerned, "the most absolute prince in Christendom." The effects produced by the force of his genius were surprising; while he ruled it with a rod of iron he made it flourishing and wealthy; the customs were quadrupled in the short space of four years, for he guarded the seas, and repressed all internal commotion. In the fifth year the revenue exceeded the expenditure by 60,000*l*. He introduced the linen-manufacture, but he suppressed that of wool, in order to keep Ireland dependent on England, and he formed magnificent projects of foreign trade, and sought for sources of internal industry. Confiding in the vigour of his mind, he feared not to convene parliaments, and when they met he swayed them at his will. He raised and maintained a numerous and well-appointed army. He never for a moment lost sight of his main object, that of rendering the sovereign absolute*; in his soul he regarded absolute monarchy as the best form of government; to produce it he laboured in concert with Laud, a

* The 'Propositions for securing of his Majesty's estate, &c.' ascribed to Strafford in the Appendix to Ludlow's Memoirs, were drawn up by sir Dudley Carleton, and not by the earl.

man every way his inferior no doubt, but in this matter as sincere and as vehement as himself. Their favourite word was THOROUGH; and they frequently complained of the scruples and slowness of their royal master, who would not proceed as rapidly as they required*.

All the preliminaries being arranged, the day fixed for the trial of this mighty man arrived. It was the 22nd of March; the place was Westminster-hall. The earl of Arundel acted as lord-high-steward. The peers, in their robes, were seated on benches in the centre; on scaffolds at each side sat the commons, as a committee of their house; with them the Scottish commissioners and the deputies sent over by a portion of the Irish house of commons, to make charges against the lord-lieutenant. At the upper end was an elevated throne, and at each side of it a latticed box for the royal family; at the lower end of the throne was a gallery for ladies of quality. A bar stretched across the hall, leaving about one third of it for the use of the public.

The court sat every morning at nine o'clock. The earl entered attired in black, wearing his George by a golden chain, and having made three bows to the high-steward, knelt at the bar; then bowing to the peers, he took his place at a small desk, the lieutenant of the Tower standing beside him, and his four secretaries at his back. He lay under every disadvantage; he was suffering from the stone and gout; according to the iniquitous practice which prevailed then and long after, he was not allowed the aid of counsel, except on points of law, and the witnesses against him were examined on oath, while *his* were not; he had but thirty minutes given him to prepare his reply to the charges urged against him by the managers, and while he was thus engaged an eternal hubbub was kept up around him; the lords walking about and chatting, the commons more noisy still, and a continued clamour at the doors. The bishops too, probably fearing for themselves, had, on the suggestion

* "He neither knows how to be, nor to be made great," says Laud of him very truly.

of Williams, resigned their right of being present, and the king had weakly consented to allow the privy councillors to be examined on oath by the committee respecting advice given by the earl at the board. Against these, Strafford had to sustain him, his own mighty powers, his conviction that the charges against him did not amount to treason, and the repeated assurance of the king that he should not suffer in life, honour, or fortune.

On the second day Pym rose, and "made," says Whitelock, "an introduction very rhetorical and smart to the articles." These, which were twenty-eight in number, were urged during thirteen days by the lawyers Glyn, Maynard, Palmer, and Whitelock. The general charge was "an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental government of the kingdom and introduce an arbitrary power." Of the particular charges three were contended to amount to the treason of levying war against the king: these were, 1. billeting soldiers on the peaceable people of Ireland till he had made them submit to his illegal demands; 2. raising an army in Ireland, and advising the king to employ it in bringing England into subjection; 3. imposing a tax on the people of Yorkshire for the maintenance of his trained bands. The remaining articles, consisting of charges of hasty and imperious expressions, of oppression of individuals, and of illegal proceedings, it was contended, though of no great importance separately, amounted to what was termed cumulative treason, as indicating his design of subverting the liberties of the country. Against all these charges Strafford defended himself with eloquence and effect, and the tide it was soon perceptible was turning in his favour; he won the hearts of all the ladies by his graceful and manly eloquence, and the number of his friends among the peers was visibly on the increase. Pym and his coadjutors now began to doubt if they should be able to convict him of treason. Their first step was (Apr. 10) to desire to be allowed to produce an additional piece of

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evidence to one of the articles ; Strafford claimed the same liberty. Glyn objected, crying that "the prisoner at the bar presumed to prescribe to the commons ;" the lords, however, thought his demand but reasonable. The committee then rose up, and shouting *Withdraw ! withdraw !* "cocked their beavers," says Baillie, "in the king's sight," and retired in high indignation without even appointing a day for the next meeting.

This was on Saturday, and on the Monday following Pym produced in the house of commons a copy of some notes taken by sir Henry Vane of the opinions delivered at the council-table on the day that the last parliament was dissolved, according to which Strafford had said, that the king having tried the affection of his people in vain, was "absolved and loose from all rule of government, and might do what power would admit"; he added, "you have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce *this* kingdom to obedience ; for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months." The manner in which Pym obtained these notes was rather suspicious. The young sir Henry Vane being on the eve of marriage, his father, who was out of town, sent him up the keys of his study and boxes that he might get out some title-deeds which were required for making the marriage settlement. A red velvet cabinet having attracted his attention, he opened it and there found those notes ; he hastened with them to Pym, who took a copy of them, and the original was then replaced in the cabinet. Questions founded on these notes had been put to sir Henry Vane by the committee of the commons on three occasions before the trial ; the two first times he declared that he knew nothing of Strafford's project to employ the Irish army "to reduce *this* kingdom," the third time he recollected the very words. On the trial he repeated his last evidence, but professed that he did not know whether by "this kingdom" was meant England or Scotland. All the other councillors who were examined

declared that they did not recollect the words, and that there was no idea of employing the Irish army anywhere but in Scotland.

These notes then were the additional evidence which the managers wanted liberty to produce, and with the following view. The law (though it had often been transgressed) required two witnesses in case of treason, and there was only the single evidence of sir Henry Vane to this point; Pym therefore "conceived those circumstances of his and young sir Henry Vane's having seen those original results, and being ready to swear that the paper read by him was a true copy of the other, might reasonably amount to the validity of another witness"!!

Clarendon tells us that when Pym had made this disclosure to the house, young Vane got up and acknowledged the truth of all he had stated, adding other particulars. His father then "rose with a pretty confusion," and said that he now saw whence the questions had been derived which had surprised him so much, but owned that the copy corresponded with the notes which he had since committed to the flames. He expressed such indignation against his son, that a motion was made, "that the father might be enjoined to be friends with his son." There was, however, for a long time a great coolness between them in public. Clarendon and others looked upon the whole as a well-acted scene, sir Henry Vane having himself, they believed, communicated the notes out of enmity to Strafford. The cause of this enmity is said to have been the latter's having taken his second title from Raby, a place belonging to the Vanes.

Pym being unable to convert his copy of the notes into a second witness, now introduced a bill to attain the earl of Strafford for endeavouring to subvert the liberties of the country; for they had long since resolved to employ this odious, unconstitutional course, if the impeachment seemed likely to fail. At a conference therefore with the lords on the afternoon of this day, the copy of Vane's notes

was produced, and the next day (13th), when the trial was resumed, they were read openly. Lord Clare, Strafford's brother-in-law, urged that "this kingdom" meant Scotland, and Strafford himself dwelt on this point and on the variations in Vane's testimony, adding; that the evidence of four councillors ought surely to outweigh that of one. The lord-steward then told him if he had any thing more to say in his defence to proceed, as the house intended now to prepare to give judgement.

The earl then went over his former ground of defence, contending that nothing charged against him amounted to treason. In conclusion he said, "It is hard to be questioned on a law which cannot be shown. Where hath this fire lain hid so many hundreds of years without smoke to discover it till it thus burst forth to consume me and my children?....If a man pass the Thames in a boat, and split himself upon an anchor, and no buoy be floating to discover it, he who oweth the anchor shall make satisfaction; but if a buoy be set there, every one passeth upon his own peril. Now where is the mark, where the tokens upon this crime, to declare it to be high-treason?" He then warned the peers for their own sakes not to "awaken these sleeping lions" of constructive treasons. "My lords," said he in conclusion, "I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges a saint in heaven hath left me," here he stopped, letting fall some tears; he then resumed, "What I forfeit myself is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, woundeth me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity; something I should have added, but am not able; therefore let it pass. And now, my lords, for myself, I have been, by the blessing of Almighty God, taught that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit myself to your judgement, and whether that judgement be of life or

death, *te Deum laudamus!*" Pym and St. John spoke in reply. It is said, that when the former uttered the following words, "If this law hath not been put in execution, as he allegeth, these two hundred and forty years, it was not for want of a law, but that all that time had not bred a man bold enough to commit such crimes as these," Strafford raised his head, and looked at him fixedly; Pym became confused, his memory failed him. "To humble the man," says Baillie, "God let his memory fail him a little before the end." He looked at his papers, but they were of no avail. He then briefly said that the solicitor-general, St. John, would, on a future day argue some law-points before them with learning and abilities much better for that service.*

Whitelock, a generous enemy, says of Strafford's defence, "Certainly never man acted such a part on such a theatre with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgement, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures than this great and excellent person did; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity."

The commons meantime were proceeding with their bill of attainder. It was read the third time on the 21st, only fifty-nine members voting against it in a house of two hundred and sixty-three. The most strenuous opposer of the bill was lord Digby, son of the earl of Bristol, a member of the committee of impeachment. "I am still the same," said he, "in my opinions and affections as unto the earl of Strafford. I confidently believe him to be the most dan-

* In this speech of Pym's was the following noble passage: "The law is the boundary, the measure between the king's prerogative and the people's liberty. Whilst these move in their own orbs, they are a support and a security to one another; the prerogative a cover and a defence to the liberty of the people, and the people by their liberty enabled to be a foundation to the prerogative. But if these bounds be so removed that they enter into contestation and conflict, one of these mischiefs must ensue;—if the prerogative of the king overwhelm the liberty of the people, it will be turned into tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy."

gerous minister, the most insupportable to free subjects that can be characterized. I believe him to be still that grand apostate to the commonwealth who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other. And yet let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that despatch." For this speech Digby was immediately questioned in the house, and when he printed it the house ordered that it should be burnt by the hangman, "which," says May, "was the visible cause of his deserting the parliament, and proving so great an actor against it."

The bill was carried up to the lords the same day, and as an inducement to them to pass it, there was added a proviso that it should not be held a precedent for future times. On the 24th the tardy peers were called on to appoint a day for reading it, and on the 29th, Strafford being placed at the bar, St. John argued for two hours in proof of the legality of the attainder. Among other arguments he employed the following; "He that would not have had others to have had a law, why should he have any law himself? It's true we give laws to hares and deers, because they be beasts of chase; it was never accounted either cruelty or foul play to knock foxes or wolves on the head, as they can be found, because these be beasts of prey. The warrener sets traps for polecats and other vermin, for preservation of the warren." In other words, Strafford must be destroyed, with law or without law.

Two days after (May 1) the king summoned both houses, and told them that in conscience he could not condemn Strafford of treason, or assent to the bill of attainder; "but for misdemeanors, he is so clear in them that he thinks the earl hereafter not fit to serve him or the commonwealth in any place of trust, no not so much as a constable"; and he conjured the lords to find out some middle way. Charles by this address, characteristic of his usual want of judgment, only hastened the fate of Strafford, for the commons seeing their advantage, exclaimed loudly against the breach

of privilege committed by the king's interfering with a bill in progress. Next day being Sunday, the pulpits which were occupied by the puritan clergy inculcated "the necessity of justice upon some great delinquents now to be acted"; and on the following morning there came a rabble of about six thousand persons, armed with swords, daggers, and clubs, crying for justice on the earl of Strafford, and complaining that "they were undone for the want of execution on him, trading was so decayed thereby." They insulted several of the lords, and they posted up the names of the fifty-nine members of the commons who had voted against the attainder, calling them "Straffordians, or Betrayers of their Country." When these members complained to the house of being thus proscribed, they could get no redress, it being, they were told, the act of a multitude. If it be asked, Where did the mob get their list? the reply will appear in the sequel.

While the mob were shouting outside, Pym took occasion to reveal to the house sundry matters which had come to his knowledge respecting intrigues and designs against the parliament; and on his motion a protestation (borrowed from the Covenant) to defend the protestant church, his majesty's person and power, the privileges of parliament, and the lawful rights and liberties of the people was taken by all the members. It was transmitted next day to the lords, where it was taken in like manner, the catholic peers of course declining it, and being thereby prevented from voting on Strafford's attainder. Orders were then given for the protestation to be taken all through England.

The important matter which Pym now communicated to the house was what is called the Army-plot. It is said that he had had a knowledge of it for some time, and had dropped hints of it in order to produce the effects he desired in the city. The matter is involved in great obscurity; the following is what appears to us the most probable account.

The parliament had been very regular in their payments

of the money promised to their "dear brethren," as they termed the Scots. On one occasion the latter wrote up, pretending an instant need of 25,000*l.*, and the commons, having only 15,000*l.* in hand, took to make up the sum 10,000*l.*, from a sum of 50,000*l.* which was to have gone to the English army. Some of the field-officers of this last, namely, lord Percy, brother of the earl of Northumberland, Wilmot, son of lord Wilmot, and colonels Ashburnham, Pollard, and others, were members of the house of commons, and Wilmot rose and said, "that if such papers of the Scots could procure moneys, he doubted not but the officers of the English would soon do the like." Petitioning being now so much in vogue, these officers formed themselves into a *juncto*, as it was called, and prepared a petition to the king and parliament, to be presented from the army, of which the prayer would be the preserving of the bishops' functions and votes, the non-disbanding of the Irish army until that of the Scots was also disbanded, and the settlement of the royal revenue. This was communicated by Percy to the king. Meantime there was a plot on foot among Henry Jermyn, master of the horse to the queen, sir John Suckling, George Goring, son of Lord Goring, and others, the object of which was deeper; it being to bring up the army, and overawe the parliament. It would appear that not merely the queen, but even the king was acquainted with this design, for he commanded Percy and his friends to communicate with Jermyn and Goring. They had three meetings, and Goring, finding that the more violent courses which he urged were not relished, and seeing also that the command of the army, the object of his ambition, would not be bestowed on him, went and made a discovery to lord Newport, and then to the parliamentary leaders. Percy, Jermyn, and Suckling, finding the affair discovered, fled to France; the others stood their ground. Percy afterwards (June 14) wrote a letter to his brother, giving an account (apparently a true one) of the whole affair, and then Wilmot, Ashburnham,

and Pollard, were committed to custody. Lord Digby having asserted that Goring was a perjured man, was expelled the house, and Goring was voted to have done nothing contrary to justice and honour.

The king, in his extreme anxiety to save Strafford, may have lent an ear to the wild project of Goring; he also assented to another, of introducing one captain Billingsley, with two hundred men, into the Tower for that purpose, and gave his warrant for it. But Balfour, the lieutenant, a Scotsman, having discovered the object, refused to admit them. It is also said that Balfour was offered a sum of money to let the earl escape, and on his examination he swore that Strafford had offered him for that purpose 20,000*l.*, "besides a good marriage for his son."

On the 5th a bill was introduced into the commons which virtually dissolved the monarchy. There being a difficulty in raising money for the pay of the armies, a Lancashire knight engaged to procure 650,000*l.* if the king would pass a bill, "Not to prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve this parliament without consent of both houses, to endure till the grievances were redressed, and to give the parliament credit to take up monies." The next day this bill was hurried through all its stages, and sent, with that of the attainder, up to the other house. The lords wished to limit it to two years, but the commons would not consent, and on the 8th it was passed. The lords at the same time passed the bill of attainder, the judges having previously declared that on two of the articles the earl was guilty of treason. This opinion would be of more weight were it not that the judges had such recent experience of the power of the commons. Various causes concurring to make several of the peers absent themselves, there were but forty-five present when the bill was passed, and of these nineteen voted against it.

The two bills were sent to the king. In his distress of mind he called some of the prelates and privy-councillors to his aid. Some urged the authority of the judges; bishop

Williams is said to have drawn a pernicious distinction between a king's private and public conscience, by which in his public capacity he might do an act which he secretly believed to be a crime. Bishop Juxon alone, we are told, honestly advised him to follow his conscience. A letter also came from the earl himself, urging him to pass the bill. "Sir," said he in it, "my consent shall more acquit you herein to God than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury done." A truly noble mind would have perished sooner than sacrifice such a voluntary victim; Charles, to his ultimate ruin and eternal disgrace, signed a commission to three lords to pass both the bills.

It is probable that Strafford did not look for this result, for when secretary Carleton came from the king to inform him of what he had done, and his motives for it, he could not at first believe it. When satisfied of the truth, he stood up, lifted his eyes to heaven, and laying his hand on his heart, said, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation."

Denzil Hollis, who was Strafford's brother-in-law, told Burnet that the king sent for him, and asked if he knew of any course to save his life. Hollis hinted at a reprieve, which would give himself time to use his influence with his friends in the commons. The king would appear to have assented to this course, but, with his usual inconstancy, he adopted another. The day after his assent to the bill (11th) he sent a letter by the young prince of Wales, written by himself, to the lords, urging them to join him in prevailing with the commons to consent to his imprisonment for life; "but," he subjoined, "if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say *Fiat justitia*." In a postscript he adds, "If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday." This postscript is said to have sealed the earl's doom*.

The following morning (12th) was appointed for the execution.

* Burnet, Own Times, i. 56, where see the editor's note.

execution. The scaffold was erected on Tower-hill: the earl, when ready, left his chamber: Laud, as he had requested, was at his window to give him his blessing as he passed; the feeble old man raised his hands, but was unable to speak, and fell back into the arms of his attendants. The earl moved on; the lieutenant desired him to take coach at the gate, lest the mob should tear him to pieces; he replied that it was equal to him whether he died by the axe or by *their* fury. The multitudes extended far as the eye could reach; the earl took off his hat several times, and saluted them; not a word of insult was heard; "his step and air," says Rushworth, who was present, "were those of a general marching at the head of an army to breathe victory, rather than those of a condemned man to undergo the sentence of death." From the scaffold he addressed the people, assuring them that he had always had the welfare of his country at heart; it augured ill for their happiness, he told them, to write the commencement of a reformation in letters of blood; he assured them he had never been against parliaments, regarding them as "the best means under God to make the king and his people happy." He turned to take leave of his friends, and seeing his brother weeping, he gently reproached him. "Think," said he, "that you are now accompanying me the fourth time to my marriage-bed. That block shall be my pillow, and here I shall rest from all my labours." He then began to undress, saying, "I do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed." He knelt and prayed, archbishop Usher and another clergyman kneeling with him. He laid down his head to try the block: then telling the executioner that he would stretch forth his hands as a sign when he was to strike, he laid it finally down, and giving the signal, it was severed at a single blow; and thus in the forty-ninth year of his age perished Thomas earl of Strafford, "who, for natural parts and abilities," says Whitelock, "and for improvement of knowledge, by experience in the greatest

affairs, for wisdom, faithfulness, and gallantry of mind, hath left few behind him that may be ranked equal with him."

We have been thus minute in our account of the trial and death of this distinguished man, because we think it affords an index to the motives and conduct of the popular leaders. These are judged by men even at the present day more by feeling and prejudice than by reason; and while the admirers of republicanism see in Pym and his coadjutors a species of demigods, men raised far above all selfish objects and private feelings, the advocates of the crown regard them as mere factious demagogues, only anxious to destroy the monarchy. Here too, as elsewhere, the truth lies in the middle. Pym and his friends were politicians and statesmen; and it is not among such that any one versed in history and human nature will look for perfect virtue. They had noble objects in view, no doubt; it was a glorious task to lay a curb on despotism, and secure to the nation civil and religious liberty. But in the attainment of these objects they were not sufficiently nice as to means, and while hastening after justice they at times trampled it under their feet. In the prosecution of Strafford it is easy to discern a personal vindictiveness, only to be satiated by his blood, and which no security against his return to power would have disarmed*. It was this that led them, when distrusting their power of convicting him legally of treason, to bring in their fatal bill of attainder. As for the conduct of the king on this occasion, we have no excuse to offer for it; if faithless to his country, Strafford had been but too faithful to *him*; and surely, as a stand was to be made somewhere, it might better have been made in the defence of the life of a man whom he

* Clarendon (Life, iii. 232) ascribes the death of Strafford chiefly to the animosity of the Scots, "and this fury of them," he adds, "met with a concurrence from those of the English who could not compass their own end without their help." The civil war would have been far more pure if that relenting people had not shared in it.

believed to be innocent, than in the support of a particular form of church government. But Charles never loved the earl, and the queen is thought to have urged him to sacrifice him.

This important trial also reveals to us the skill of the popular leaders in raising and sustaining what is now termed a 'pressure from without.' The following were the usual modes employed :—1. The *press*, whence issued swarms of pamphlets answering to the 'leading articles' of the newspapers in our days, which, as Baxter tells us, "were greedily bought up throughout the land, which greatly increased the people's apprehension of their danger." 2. The *pulpit*. This had from the time of the Reformation been too often diverted from its legitimate use to serve political purposes. The patriots and puritans had of late years often and justly complained of its being employed to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience; but in the day of their own power they recognised its efficacy, and employed it unsparingly. The clergy attended the houses, and received their instructions, and the congregations learned from the pulpit what they should perform in support of their leaders in the house. 3. *Petitions*, which gave an opportunity for large bodies of people to approach the houses, often armed, and thus daunt the opponents of the popular leaders. These petitions were frequently drawn up in London and sent down to the country to be subscribed*; and if we may believe Clarendon, a scandalous artifice was sometimes employed. A moderate petition was read at a public meeting, to which few could refuse to subscribe; but after the signatures were obtained, a petition of a very different character was placed

* See Dugdale, Short View, p. 66.

The parliament drew up petitions
To itself, and sent them, like commissions,
To well-affected persons down,
In every city and great town,
With power to levy horse and men,
Only to bring them back again.

Hudibras, p. i. c. ii. 610.

at the head of it, and thus people often found themselves supplicants for what they had no mind to. 4. *Rumours*. At various times since the meeting of parliament it had been reported that the papists were assembling in arms underground in Surrey, and openly in Lancashire; that there was a plot for blowing up the Thames, and thus drowning the city, on the discovery of which there was a public thanksgiving; that there was another for blowing up the house of commons with gunpowder; sir John Earle actually smelled the powder; the report spread to the city; the drums beat, and the trained-bands and crowds of the people hastened to Westminster to protect the members. A tailor sitting under a hedge heard two soldiers talking of how some of their comrades were to get so much apiece for killing several of the lords and commons; the citizens started one night from their warm beds and flew to arms at midnight, on a report that the king was coming down with horse and foot. We are told that in the space of two or three months these reports amounted to not less than thirty-nine. 5. *Spies*. Pym is said to have carried on an intrigue with lady Carlisle*, through whom he learned all that was passing in the royal apartments; and according to Clarendon, "all tavern and ordinary discourses" were carried to him. 6. Lastly, *organised mobs* of the London apprentices and others. These are said to have been under the direction of some of the clergy; and we are told† that one of them, named Burgess, would point to the rabble, saying, "These be my ban-dogs; I can set them on and take them off again as I please‡."

* Merely a political one, we believe. This lady, who was sister to the earl of Northumberland, is said to have been the mistress first of Strafford, and then of Pym. We have, however, seen nothing to justify this imputation on her character.

† Wood, Athen. Oxon. ii. 236. Echard, ii.

‡ For these 'Acts of Insurgency,' as he terms them, see D'Israeli, Commentaries, iv. 143.

CHAPTER VI.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED).

1641—1642.

Change of ministry.—Army-petition.—Attacks on the church.—Charles in Scotland.—The Incident.—The Irish Rebellion and massacre.—Return of the king.—The Remonstrance.—Proceedings of the parliament.—The five members.—Petitions to parliament.—King retires to the north.—Encroachments of the commons.—The militia.

AFTER the fall of Strafford, the king seems to have abandoned all thoughts of resistance for the present. The plan of giving office to some of the leading patriots had been resumed; but unhappily for him, the earl of Bedford, an honourable and moderate man, who would have engaged to save Strafford, died at that very conjuncture. It was however partially carried into effect, lord Say being made master of the court of wards, Essex lord chamberlain, Hertford governor to the prince, and Leicester lord lieutenant of Ireland. Bishop Juxon resigned his office of lord-treasurer, to which the influence of Laud had advanced him, but in which his conduct had been irreproachable; and the treasury was put into commission*.

The act securing them from a dissolution having set the parliament somewhat at their ease, they felt the less necessity for keeping the Scottish army in the kingdom, and they now began to think seriously of disbanding both armies. In the month of February they had voted a sum of 300,000*l.* "toward a supply of the losses and necessities of their brethren of Scotland." There were, moreover, 120,000*l.* of arrears due to the Scots. The mode of pay-

* They are also enumerated by Dugdale.

ment was arranged, and in addition to six subsidies, it was proposed to raise a supply by means of a graduated poll-tax, a duke being rated at 100*l.*, men of 100*l.* a year at 5*l.* The English army was to be paid off in like manner, and the earl of Holland was made general in order to disband it.

While Holland remained in London, the command of the army lay with sir Jacob Ashly. The king, ever anxious to regain his power, listened to another project for marching the army up to overawe the parliament. It was proposed to proceed in the usual way by petition, and one was drawn up to be presented to the king and parliament in the name of the officers and soldiers ; in which, after enumerating and praising all the late measures of reform, they complain that there are certain "stirring and practical" persons whom nothing short of the subversion of the government would satisfy, and who overawed the parliament by means of mobs ; "for the suppressing of which," it proceeds, "in all humility we offer ourselves to wait upon you, if you please, hoping we shall appear as considerable in the way of defence to our gracious sovereign, the parliament, our religion, and the established laws of the kingdom, as what number soever shall audaciously presume to violate them," etc.

This petition was read and approved of by the king, in token of which he wrote his C. R. at the bottom of it. It was then sent down to the army by captain Legg, with directions not to show it to any one but sir Jacob Ashly. The chief agent employed by the king in this affair was one Daniel O'Neal, an Irish catholic, who had served abroad, and was now serjeant-major (i. e. adjutant) in the regiment of sir John Conyers, and who was also engaged to treat with the Scottish army for their neutrality. The whole plan, however, proved abortive, and it soon came to the knowledge of the parliament, and augmented the distrust of the king.

On the 22nd of June the commons presented to th

king an act granting him tonnage and poundage, also one for the poll money; these were accompanied by two others for suppressing the courts of star-chamber and high-commission. The king came down on the 2nd of July, and passed the money-bills, but demurred to the others; learning, however, how much dissatisfaction this had caused, he came again on the 5th and passed the other two bills; thus in his usual unhappy manner losing the credit he might have gained by a cheerful compliance with what he could not avoid.

The king's attachment to his sister and her family is an amiable trait in his character; and his anxiety for the restitution of the Palatinate had led him into negotiations and civilities with the pope and the catholic princes which had caused alarm to his more zealous protestant subjects. He now, with the hearty concurrence of the parliament, prepared a manifesto on that subject,* which sir Thomas Roe was directed to present to the emperor at the approaching diet at Ratisbon. Another act which had given much satisfaction to the people, as a proof of his protestant feeling, was the marriage between his daughter Mary (now, however, only in her tenth year) and the prince of Orange, which had been solemnised at Whitehall on the 2nd of May. In fact, had Charles been really willing to be a constitutional instead of a despotic monarch, the path was now plain before him which led to the hearts of his people.

The historian May observes, that at this time the parliament had lost much of its popularity. This he ascribes partly to their *lifting-at* the bishops, which turned the universities and most of the clergy against them; partly to their not checking the rabble, who frequently disturbed the church-service, and tore the books and surplices, they being, he says, "either too much busied in a variety of affairs, or perchance, too much fearing the loss of a considerable party whom they might have need of against a real and potent enemy"; partly to the reports of the preach-

ings of tradesmen and other illiterate persons of the lowest rank. Others, again, were disappointed that political miracles had not been performed, and alienated by the heavy taxes that were imposed. He appears to agree in opinion with those who thought that the parliament greatly injured their cause by mixing religion so much up with it*.

It is necessary that the reader should be here informed of the proceedings of the parliament hitherto on the subject of religion. On the presentation of the 'Root and Branch' petition, it was carried by a small majority to refer it to the committee of religion. Sir Edward Dering, an honest dull man, then brought in a bill for the abolition of episcopacy; and though we are assured that very few of the members desired any such thing, the second reading was carried by 139 to 108. Hyde, however, the chairman of the committee, gave it so much interruption that no progress was made in it; and petitions numerous signed were presented from various counties wishing episcopacy and the liturgy to be reformed but retained. In July the house voted in favour of a scheme of archbishop Usher's, for making every county a diocese, with a presbytery of twelve divines presided over by a bishop, who should with them have authority "to ordain, suspend, deprive, degrade and excommunicate." On this occasion also, some members maintained that it was unlawful for bishops to sit in parliament. As the lords were disinclined to any measure of this nature, and the bishops stood their ground firmly, articles of impeachment, on account of the late canons, were exhibited against one half of the bench (Aug. 4). The prelates, however, did not shrink; they only required time and counsel to prepare their answer, which was granted. The commons had already (July 5) voted Wren bishop of Ely "unworthy and unfit to hold or exercise any office or dignity in the church or commonwealth," and he had been committed to the Tower. They moreover made

* It may however be doubted if, either at this time or in 1688, the assertors of the public liberties would have succeeded without the aid of religion.

an order, which sir Robert Harlowe was empowered to execute, "to take away all scandalous pictures, crosses, and figures within churches and without," and the "zealous knight," we are told, "took down the cross in Cheapside, Charing-cross, and others the like monuments, impartially."

The Irish army had been disbanded, and on the 6th of August the English and Scottish armies were disbanded also; "and the Scots, with store of English money and spoils," says Whitelock, "and the best entertainment, left their warm and plentiful quarters." On the 10th the king set out for Scotland, and he travelled with such speed that he reached Edinburgh in four days. He was followed thither by a committee of the commons, composed of lord Howard of Escrick, Mr. Fiennes, Mr. Hampden, and sir William Armyn, "to preserve the good intercourse and understanding which was begun between the two nations," and to watch the proceedings of the king. Before he departed he had signed a bill making the earl of Essex general of his forces on this side of the Trent. Parliament continued to sit till the 9th of September, when it adjourned to the 20th of October, having appointed a committee of fifty to sit during the recess.

The hopes of regaining his power had urged Charles to visit Scotland, where there was a man able and willing to execute the most daring projects, and who was now devoted to him. This was the earl of Montrose, who, in his disgust at the king's neglect of him at the time of his coronation, had joined the covenanters; but offended with *them* for preferring Argyle to him in civil, and Lesley in military affairs, had become secretly devoted to the king, to whom he made important communications. Being detected in a plot he was now a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh. By means of William Murray of the bed-chamber, he corresponded with the king, into whose mind he infused suspicions (whether well or ill-grounded is hard to say) of Argyle and even of Hamilton. According to

Clarendon, who had the account from the king himself, "he informed him of many particulars from the beginning of the rebellion, and that the marquess was no less faulty and false towards his majesty than Argyle, and offered to make proof of all in the parliament, but rather desired to kill them both, which he frankly undertook to do; but the king, abhorring that expedient, for his own security, advised that the proofs might be prepared for the parliament."

It would seem, that on account of the great power and influence of these noblemen, the king consented to the employment of stratagem for their arrest. The plan is said to have been, that Argyle, Hamilton, and his brother lord Lanark, should be sent for to the royal drawing-room on Sunday October the 2nd, where they should be arrested as traitors, and be handed over to lord Crawford, who was to be near with a party of soldiers; they were then to be placed in a close carriage, and hurried on board a frigate which lay in Leith roads, where they were to be kept till their trial. It is added, that if they attempted resistance they were to be put to death. The accused, however, got information the evening before, and absented themselves from court. Next morning they wrote to the king and parliament, giving their reasons, and then went out of town, and finally retired to Glasgow. As the letters of the Hamiltons were "not without some reflections on his majesty," Charles insisted on their submitting to a public trial. It was finally thought best for all parties that the trial should be before a private committee, of which the members should be sworn to secrecy.

This event is named the 'Incident.' Like so many other events in Scottish history, owing to that extreme fondness for secrecy and stratagem, said to be characteristic of the nation, it is enveloped in an obscurity which will never perhaps be totally dissipated. The plot for the arrest, however, seems to be proved, but what the exact object of the king was it is difficult to say. It may hav

been part of a plan to master the Scottish parliament; or Charles may have thus hoped to come at the proofs which he knew existed of the invitation given to the Scots to enter England by the popular leaders at Westminster, on which he might found a charge of treason against them. When the account of the Incident was transmitted to London by the committee, the parliament felt or affected great consternation, and they applied to the earl of Essex for a guard to protect them.

In the midst of these alarms tidings reached the king and parliament of the breaking out of a most sanguinary rebellion in Ireland. The causes which produced this horrible explosion had long been in secret operation: we will here briefly enumerate them*.

The mildest term that can be applied to the native Irish at this time is that of barbarians; they were in fact in many parts of the country but little removed from the savage state. There is not in existence a people more capable of acts of ferocious cruelty, or more fanatically attached to the system of superstition which forms their religion, and their devotion to their clergy is blind and implicit. Their hatred then was, and still unhappily is, intense toward the English nation, name, and religion. The genius of popery is destructive and intolerant, and nothing but its feebleness will ever keep it at rest. To these causes, namely, the barbarism of the people, their hatred of the English, and the spirit of their religion, is to be added the loss of their lands. The territory of an Irish sept or clan was somewhat of the nature of an Indian hunting-ground; no one had any particular possession in it, every death in the sept causing a new arrangement. Tillage, therefore, could only be in scanty patches, and the native Irish actually moved about with their herds like the Eastern Turkmans. Still this rude kind of possession was property, and it galled them to lose it. In their eyes the portions which had been

* The principal authority for the following details is the narrative of sir John Temple, who was master of the rolls at the time in Ireland.

regranted them on English tenures were not of equal value, and they little prized the civilisation which had been thus introduced. This was the case in three of the provinces; there had been no English plantations as yet in Connaught, where there had been no insurrections, and where in the last two reigns the Irish proprietors had surrendered their estates to the crown, to receive them back by a legal tenure. These grants (though the fees were paid) had not been enrolled in chancery, and Charles, on ascending the throne, was urged to take advantage of the neglect, and declare the whole province forfeited. He was prepared to do so, but he afterwards agreed to take 120,000*l.*, payable in three years for some *graces*, as they were named, which he was to bestow, the chief object of which was to secure both Irish and English in their lands against the crown. A parliament was to be held to confirm the *graces*: the deputy issued the writs, but as it was done in an irregular manner they were declared void in England. The three years thus passed away, the money was all paid, and the *graces* had not been confirmed, and the king threatened to straiten them if the contribution were not continued. Strafford now came over and ruled with despotic sway; the *graces* were rudely denied, and juries were forced to find the king's title to the lands all through Connaught. The affairs in Scotland and England prevented anything being done in the way of plantation, and in the committee which went over to accuse Strafford both parties united in the effort to induce the king to perform his promises. He did consent (May 1641), but the Irish parliament having been prorogued, they had not been legally confirmed when the rebellion broke out.

The plan of insurrection is said to have originated with Roger Moore, one of that sept whose territory had been formed into the King's and Queen's counties in the reign of Mary. He had served abroad in the Spanish armies, and it appeared to him that what had succeeded in Scotland might also be achieved in Ireland, and that by a si-

multaneous rising of the catholics of both races, by seizing the forts, and by expelling the English and Scottish colonists, they might recover their lands, and re-establish their religion. It does not appear to have been any part of his plan that they should cast off their allegiance to the king. Moore went secretly to lord MacGuire, sir Phelim O'Neal, and other chieftains in the North, and he also communicated with the lords of the Pale*. As some of these last were of the committee in London, it is highly probable that the queen may have known of and favoured a design for setting up the religion to which she was devoted in Ireland; and it is possible enough that Charles himself, over whom her influence was now unbounded, may have listened to a project which held forth to him a prospect of recovering his darling despotism. It is utterly incredible, however, that he should have given his assent to a plan for expelling the English; but he might have preferred seeing the government in the hands of the catholics rather than in those of a party which he knew to be devoted to the parliament. Charles had such a fondness for intrigue, and was in the habit of listening to so many different opinions, and adopting such a variety of expedients for attaining his objects, that one can very rarely venture to deny with confidence any charge made against him.

The plan, though communicated to a great number of persons, had been profoundly concealed. A principal object was to get possession of the castle of Dublin, in which were the arms of the late army and large stores of ammunition. For this purpose it was arranged that Roger Moore, lord MacGuire, Hugh MacMahon, Hugh Byrne, and other gentlemen, with twenty men from each county, should come up to the capital, and that the attempt should be made on the 23rd of October. It was only on the night of the preceding day that the lords justices got information of what was intended, and that by the merest chance. There was

* The Pale was the district round Dublin; its lords, Gormanstown, Fingal, and others, were all of the English blood.

a man of Irish origin, but who had lived chiefly among the English, and was of the protestant religion; his name was Owen O'Conolly, and, for what reason is not known, MacMahon wished to engage him in the plot. He therefore wrote to him to come to his house in the county of Monaghan without delay. On Conolly's arriving there he found that MacMahon was gone up to Dublin, whither he followed him, and arrived at six o'clock in the evening of Friday the 22nd. MacMahon took him to lord MacGuire's and informed him of the whole plan for a simultaneous rising at ten o'clock the next morning, to destroy the English all through the kingdom. Conolly told him it could not succeed, and urged him to discover the plot, and thus save his estate; but he refused, and swore that Conolly should not leave his lodging (whither they had returned) that night. After drinking with him for some time Conolly pretended a necessity to go down to the yard, and, leaving his sword behind him, went out attended by MacMahon's man; he then jumped over the wall, and made all haste to the house of sir William Parsons, one of the lords justices. It was only nine o'clock when he came with the information of the conspiracy. As Conolly was somewhat flustered by what he had drunk, he delivered his account in so confused a manner that Parsons gave but little credit to it. He therefore desired him to go back to MacMahon, and learn what more he could; and he himself having given directions for securing the castle-gates, went to his colleague sir John Borlase, and they sent for such of the council as were in town. Conolly, who had been seized by the watch, and would have been carried to prison had not one of Parsons' servants fortunately come up at the time, was brought in, and being now tolerably sober, gave a full account of all he had discovered. Before day came MacMahon was arrested: he did not attempt to deny the plot; he told the council that "what was to be done in other parts of the country was so far advanced at that time as it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it," &c.

that he was sure to be revenged if he suffered any evil. The lord MacGuire and some others were also arrested, but Moore, Byrne, and the rest got timely information, and so escaped.

MacMahon's assertions were soon verified. Lord Blaney arrived at midnight (24th) with tidings of his own house and family at Castle-Blaney in the county of Monaghan, and two other strong houses in the same county, having been surprised that morning by the rebels, and in three hours after news came of the Irish in the Newry having broken open the king's store there and seized the ammunition. That same day (Sunday) lord Gormanstown and the other catholic lords of the Pale came making great professions of loyalty, and craving to be supplied with arms. The next day (25th) the justices wrote an account to the earl of Leicester of what had taken place. Owen O'Conolly was the bearer of the letter, and he was properly recommended to the royal bounty.

We shall now proceed to relate the progress of the rebellion. The main object of the rebels, as we have seen, was to root the English out of the country. It is said that they had debated whether they should do this after the fashion set by the court of Spain in the case of the Moriscoes, and merely expel them, or whether they should fall on and slaughter them. It is probable that Roger Moore and the more enlightened and humane were for the former course, while sir Phelim O'Neal and the priests, especially the friars, were for slaughter and massacre. Nothing, however, would seem to have been decided on, and all were left to act as they judged best. On the 22nd (Friday) the priests in several places in Ulster, it is said, dismissed the people with directions to go and take possession of their lands; and next morning they assembled in great numbers, armed with staves, sithes, and pitchforks, and began to drive away the cattle of the English settlers, and then to break into their houses and seize their goods: some houses were burnt, and some of the English murdered on this first

day of the outbreak. They soon proceeded to greater extremities; they stripped them, men, women and children, naked, and turned them out of their houses. The Irish were forbidden to give them any food or relief as they passed along; the rags which they had procured to cover them were torn off by the women and children that met them.

The expulsion of the English was greatly facilitated by the manner in which they lived intermixed among the Irish, with whom also they had in some cases intermarried. Many of them had Irish tenants and servants; many were themselves tenants to the Irish gentry, who preferred them, as able to pay better rents than their own people. Hence they did not draw themselves together in bodies, and stand on their defence, as the Scots did, but each remained in his own house, relying on his Irish friends, neighbours, landlords, tenants, or servants, to secure him. But they only experienced cruelty and treachery, those on whom they depended being too well instructed by their priests in the sinfulness of showing mercy to heretics.

Any one who is acquainted with the character of the lower Irish, and recollects the atrocities which they commit at the present day, under political or religious influence, will be well prepared to credit the accounts of the barbarities perpetrated by them on the present occasion,—barbarities perhaps only to be paralleled by the deeds of the Spaniards and Portuguese in America and Asia. Some they buried alive; others they suspended by the arms, and cut them with their swords till they died. They hung up women great with child, and, ripping them open, let the infants fall out, which then became the prey of dogs and swine; they dashed out the brains of young children, or trampled them to death. Multitudes were shut up in houses to which fire was set, and they were thus burnt alive. At Belturbet and Portadown the protestants were forced 1 hundreds into the river, and there drowned. Nay, it is asserted, that, by a refinement of cruelty, wives and children

were in some cases induced, by a promise of their lives, to be the executioners of their husbands and parents, and when they had thus violated the laws of nature, they themselves were slaughtered. Our blood congeals as we read the depositions of those who escaped out of the hands of these human fiends after witnessing their diabolical acts. The women, as is always the case, were more sanguinary than the men; the very children lent their aid in the work of blood: the friars, with tears, exhorted the people to spare none of the English; priests gave the sacrament to their penitents on condition of their sparing neither man, woman, nor child: excommunication was fulminated against those who should relieve any of the stript and ruined protestants.

Though Ulster was the earliest and principal theatre of these barbarities, they were not confined to it, and similar ones were enacted in the other three provinces, and even in the counties adjoining the capital. The county of Kilkenny and the Queen's County seem to have been most abundant in deeds of cruelty in Leinster. The whole number of those that perished has been variously estimated. The number said to have been returned by the priests in Ulster, from their several parishes, down to April 1642, was 105,000, and archdeacon Maxwell in his deposition (Aug. 22, 1642) stated that there were "above 154,000 now wanting within the very precinct of Ulster." The general impression in England was, that in one way or another 200,000 protestants perished in this rebellion*.

The king, on receiving intelligence of the insurrection in Ireland, referred the whole matter to the parliament of England, who had already voted a supply of 50,000*l.* for that purpose, and taken other needful measures. The earl of Ormond was appointed lieutenant-general of the forces in Ireland; but these were too few to check the progress of the Ulster rebels, who soon advanced and laid siege to Drogheda. When the Irish parliament met, the catholic members were very gentle in their condemnation of the re-

* See Appendix (F.).

bellion*, and in little more than a month from the time of the first outbreak the lord Gormanstown and the other catholics of the Pale were in arms on the side of the rebels.

Charles now prepared to leave Scotland. To conciliate the nobles he lavished the church-lands and places and honours on them. Argyle was made a marquess, Loudon an earl and chancellor, Lesley and Munro earls of Leven and Callender; Johnston of Warriston was raised to the bench; the livings of Henderson and others were increased. In return, the safety of Montrose and his friends was assured, and ten thousand men were promised for the recovery of the Palatinate. Old Lesley, we are told by Clarendon, assured the king, "that he could not only never more serve against him, but that whenever his majesty would require his service he should have it without ever asking what the cause was." Others, he adds, whispered him, "that as soon as the troubles of the late storm could be perfectly calmed they would reverse and repeal whatsoever was now unreasonably extorted from him." Charles therefore quitted his native kingdom with good hopes that he had at least neutralised it in the struggle which he was preparing to make for the recovery of his despotic power in England. Toward the end of November he returned to London, where, as we have seen, there had been some reaction in the popular feeling in his favour, and sir Richard Gournay, the lord-mayor of the year, was a royalist. A magnificent civic banquet was given to the monarch at Guildhall (Nov. 25), and the streets rang with acclamations of loyalty as he passed to and from it. The king and his friends were unduly elated by these marks of popular favour, and their conduct stimulated the leaders of the commons to put forth their celebrated Remonstrance.

This Remonstrance was a recapitulation of all the illegal

* They objected to the term *rebels*, styling them merely *discontented gentlemen*. At length they consented to the words *traitorous and rebellious actions* of some persons. By the way, as we have daily instances, no people exceed the Irish in the art of giving specious names to evil deeds.

acts which had taken place since the king's accession, laying the blame, however, not on the king himself, but on ill ministers, who are called in it "a *malignant* party." It was vigorously opposed in the commons. The debate lasted from nine o'clock in the morning until past midnight (Nov. 22); several members left the house on account of age or infirmity, and yet it was carried only by a majority of eleven, which sir Benjamin Rudyard aptly compared to "the verdict of a starved jury." Hampden's motion for having it printed was rejected as being contrary to usage. As Hyde, the chief opponent of this measure, declared that he would protest against it, and Palmer and others cried out that they did protest, it was resolved by Pym and his friends to make an example, and Palmer, who was obnoxious to them on account of his courtesy toward Strafford, was selected and committed to the Tower, the more violent men being for his expulsion. After a few days' confinement, however, he was allowed to resume his seat in the house.

The opposition which the Remonstrance experienced had not been looked for by its advocates. At the conclusion of the debate Oliver Cromwell (who, however, was then of little note,) whispered lord Falkland, and with an asseveration said, "that if the remonstrance had been rejected he would have sold all he had the next morning and never have seen England more, and he knew there were many other honest men of the same resolution." Having now, however, carried their point, the leaders resolved to use their advantage, and on the 1st of December the Remonstrance, and with it a petition complaining of a "malignant party," to whom they attributed all the evils, such as the Irish rebellion, which had occurred, and praying for their removal, etc., was presented to the king at Hampton-court; and a few days after, contrary to his expressed wish, both were printed and circulated. Charles, who now began to act by good advice, put forth a reply which left the parliament no advantage over him; and a few days after, on receiving an

address from the court of aldermen, praying him to reside at Whitehall, he returned to the capital.

The intelligence of the strength and the atrocities of the rebels which daily arrived from Ireland made the king urgent with the parliament to proceed in the affairs of that country. A proposal of the Scots to send ten thousand men to Ulster, to be paid by the English, was agreed to, and a bill for impressing an equal number in England passed the commons; but as in the preamble it was asserted that the king had no right to press the subject except in case of foreign invasion, the lords demurred to the novel doctrine, and the attorney-general craved to be heard on the king's part against it. The commons then ordered their committee "to meet no more about that business"; the levies were stopped; and it was declared "that the loss of Ireland must be imputed to the lords." The king then, with his usual imprudence, acting, Clarendon says, under the secret advice of St. John, came to the house of lords and proposed "that the bill should pass with a *salvo jure* both for the king and people." This interference in a pending bill, however, both houses joined in declaring to be a breach of privilege, as it really was, and the king made an ample apology. His offer to raise ten thousand volunteers for the service of Ireland was at once rejected. The unfortunate Irish protestants were thus sacrificed to the struggles of parties in England. Still we must not unconditionally impute to the parliament mere factious motives; they vehemently, and not without reason, suspected the king of having originally sanctioned the rising of the Irish, and they well knew that if once he had an army at his devotion, he would revoke all his concessions, and pour out his vengeance on the heads of those who had wrung them from him. Their apprehensions were further increased by his displacing at this time Balfour, the lieutenant of the Tower, "which was looked upon as a bridle upon the city," and giving that office to colonel Lunsford,

“upon whom he might rely.” On the complaint of the commons of Lunsford’s being a man of desperate character, who had heretofore made his escape from prison, and then fled the kingdom, the king made him resign, and gave the place to sir John Byron; but even *he* did not please, and he was some time after replaced by sir John Conyers.

To weaken the king’s party in the lords the former bill for taking away the bishops’ votes was brought in again. When it was objected that a bill could not be introduced a second time in the same session, Pym replied, that “their orders were not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, not to be altered.” It was therefore received, and soon after passed, and sent up to the lords. At this time, lord Falkland, who had previously supported this measure, but who now saw through the designs of the popular party, opposed it, and on Hampden’s saying that “he was sorry to see a noble lord had changed his opinion since the time the last bill to this purpose had passed the house,” he replied, “that he had been persuaded at that time by that worthy gentleman to believe many things which he had since found to be untrue, and therefore he had changed his opinions in many particulars, as well as to things as to persons.”*

The old tactics of rumours and petitions were also resorted to. It was at this time that Beale the tailor overheard the project for assassinating the lords and commons. A petition was published in the name of “the apprentices, and those whose apprenticeships were lately expired,” stating that “they found the beginning of great mischiefs coming upon them, to nip them in the bud when they were first entering into the world; the cause of which they could attribute to no others but the papists and the prelates, and that malignant party that adhered to them.” etc. The publication of this petition had its natural result, the resort of multitudes to Westminster, shouting, “No bishops!

* Clarendon, ii. 76.

no bishops!" The trained-bands, whom the king had appointed to guard the houses of parliament, having repelled the rabble from the house of peers by threatening to fire on them, the commons sent to the lords, desiring them to be discharged, declaring that it should be lawful for every member to bring his own servant armed to attend at the door. The rabble, thus encouraged, came in greater numbers about the house of peers, crying, "No bishops! no popish lords!" and calling those who opposed the commons "rotten-hearted lords." When the lords sent to the commons, complaining of the insults which they received, some members said, "We must not discourage our friends, this being a time we must make use of all our friends"; and Pym said, "God forbid the house of commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way." A writ was then issued, by direction of the lords, to the sheriff and justices, requiring them to appoint strong watches to prevent this conflux of people to Westminster. This the commons voted to be a breach of privilege, and they sent one of the justices who acted on it to the Tower. During the Christmas holidays the crowds became still greater, and the cries of "No bishops! no popish lords!" still louder. They were even heard to say before Whitehall, "that they would have no more porter's lodge, but would speak with the king when they pleased." Some read aloud the names of "disaffected members of the house of commons," and of "false rotten-hearted" lords. They threatened to pull down the houses of the bishops, and assaulted several of them in their coaches; they laid hold on the archbishop of York, and would, it is said, have murdered him if he had not been rescued.

This prelate was the celebrated Williams, whom the king had lately elevated to an archiepiscopal see. The day he was assaulted he sent for the bishops, to the number of twelve or thirteen, who were in town, and proposed, as it was no longer safe for them to go to the house of peers

that they should present a protestation against the force that was used upon them, and against all the acts to be done during their enforced absence from the house. They consented, and signed the protestation, which Williams carried himself to the king, requesting him to transmit it to the peers. His request was complied with. The lords then desired a conference with the commons, the result of which was the impeachment and committal to the Tower of the prelates, whose conduct, though highly imprudent, was certainly not illegal.

There were many members of the house of commons who, though zealous for the reformation of abuses, disliked the measures of Pym and his party. Such were the upright lord Falkland, sir John Colepepper, and Mr. Hyde. The king was advised to call these men to his councils, and he offered the place of secretary to the first, which with some difficulty he was induced to accept; the second was made chancellor of the exchequer. Hyde declined any office for the present, saying that he should be able to do better service by remaining as he was. Lord Digby was already greatly in the confidence of the king, to whose cause his levity and indiscretion often proved of serious injury.

On New year's day (1642) a scuffle took place at Westminster, in which some blood was drawn. A number of officers of the late army and of those soldiers of fortune who were then so numerous, had offered their services to the king as a guard; the same was done by the students of the inns of court. Their offer was rather imprudently accepted, and various rencounters took place between them and the mobs that resorted to Westminster. It was on this occasion that the terms Roundhead and Cavalier came into use, the former being given in reproach to the close-cropt apprentices and others of the mobs*, who re-

* Clarendon, ii. 93. "Their hair," says Warburton, "according to the city-fashion, being cropt round and close." Mrs. Hutchinson, however, says,

turned it by terming their opponents Cavaliers, as military hectors were usually called.

The 3rd of January 1642 was rendered ever memorable by an act of fatal imprudence on the part of the king. Without consulting any of his ministers, (unless it were Digby,) he ordered Herbert, the attorney-general, to proceed to the house of peers, and exhibit charges of high-treason against the lord Kimbolton, Denzil Hollis, sir Arthur Haselrig, Pym, Hampden, and Strode. At the same time a serjeant-at-arms appeared at the bar of the commons, and demanded that the five accused members should be surrendered to him. Other servants of the king had already gone to these members' lodgings, and sealed up their trunks and studies. The house sent a message to the king, "that the members should be forthcoming as soon as a legal charge should be preferred against them," and then adjourned.

Next day when the house met, they sent to inform the lord mayor and common council that their privileges were like to be broken, and the city put into danger, and advised them to look to their security. They then adjourned till one o'clock. When they met again, secret information being come (from lady Carlisle it is said,) of what was to happen, the house gave the five members leave to absent themselves, and they accordingly withdrew. Presently the king arrived with all his guard and pensioners, and two or three hundred gentlemen and soldiers mostly armed. These he ordered to remain in the hall, and on their lives not to come into the house. He entered with his nephew, the Palsgraf, took off his hat, and advanced to the speaker's chair, who quitted it at his approach. The king stepped up to it, and having looked round for a time, told the

(p. 99) "Few of the puritans, what degree soever they were of, wore their hair long enough to cover their ears, and the ministers and many others cut it close round their heads with so many little peaks as was something ridiculous to behold. From this custom of wearing their hairs that name of Round-head became the scornful term given to the whole parliament-party."

house he would respect their privileges, but that treason had no privilege, and he was come for those five members. He called Pym and Hollis by name; no answer being returned, he asked the speaker where they were. Lenthall fell on his knees, and said, "he was a servant to the house, and had neither eyes nor tongue to see or speak any thing but what they commanded him." The king replied, that "he thought his own eyes were as good as his"; and then said, "his birds were flown, but he did expect the house would send them to him, and if they did not, he would seek them himself, for their treason was foul, and such a one as they would all thank him to discover." He then assured them that the accused should have a fair trial, and retired pulling off his hat till he reached the door. As he retired, the words "privilege! privilege!" uttered by many voices reached his ears.

What the particular charges to be made against these members were is uncertain. Some think it was the proofs the king had gotten in Scotland of their inviting the Scots in 1640, that he now intended to produce; but since that time an act of oblivion had been passed. Perhaps it was some portion of their late proceedings for which he thought himself now sufficiently strong to punish them. The proceeding was certainly a *coup d'état* for the recovery of his lost power. Clarendon says he was put on it by Digby; the queen, who had been menaced with an impeachment, certainly urged him on. It is said*, that when, on cooler thoughts, he resolved not to put his project of going to the house into execution, she cried to him, "Go, coward; go, pull these rogues out by the ears, or never see me more"; and that when the hour for the deed was past, she said to lady Carlisle, "Rejoice, for I hope that the king is now master in his states, and that such and such are in custody."

* Mémoires de Madame de Motteville, i. 265. Milton (*Eikonoclast*. ch. iii.) alludes to the influence of the queen in this unhappy affair.

The five members had retired to a house in Colman-street in the city, which was their stronghold. Rumour was set at work; people ran to and fro during the night, crying, "the cavaliers are coming to fire the city!" others added, that "the king himself was at the head of them." The whole city spent the night under arms; next morning, the king having sent to the lord-mayor to call a common-council, came at ten o'clock to the Guildhall, attended only by three or four lords. He addressed the people, expressing his sorrow that they should have apprehended danger from him, adding, that to show his confidence in *them*, he was come without a guard, and that he presumed they would not shelter those whom he intended to proceed against legally for high-treason. He then told one of the sheriffs that he would dine with him. As he went through the city, shouts of "Privilege of parliament!" were raised, and one person flung into his coach a pamphlet, entitled, "To thy tents, O Israel!" the words with which the ten tribes abandoned Rehoboam, the son of Solomon*.

While the king was in the city the house of commons met, and having declared his late conduct to be the highest breach of privilege and themselves not to be safe, adjourned for a few days, appointing a committee to sit at Merchant-Tailors' hall in the city, "and all who came to have voices." The lords also adjourned.

Next day (6th) the king issued a proclamation for the apprehension of the five members; the committee met in the city, where another committee of the common-council also sat in order to communicate with them. Their chief occupation was for the present to collect all the particulars of the late breach of their privileges. The five members were afterwards brought to the committee with much state, and a declaration was set forth in which the conduct of the king respecting them was asserted to be a high breach

* It was, says Lilly, "a new sermon, whereof the text was *To thy tents, &c.*"

of privilege, and his proclamation "false, scandalous, and illegal." It further contained a narrative of the transactions on the 4th, full of gross exaggeration and even palpable falsehood, and this mere declaration of the committee was printed and circulated,—a thing without precedent.

A petition from the city was presented to the king on the subjects of the Irish rebellion, the papists, the changes at the Tower, the "late invasion of the house of commons," etc. Tumultuous crowds repaired to Westminster, "and it was a dismal thing," says Whitelock, "to all sober men, especially members of parliament, to see and hear them." Finally, intelligence came of the great preparations in the city to bring the accused members in triumph to the parliament on the 11th, the day to which the houses stood adjourned. The king, deeply mortified at his own imprudence, and anxious to escape the insults and the danger which he apprehended, took the further unwise resolution (as many thought it) of quitting Whitehall, and on the 10th he retired with his queen and children to Hampton-court.

Next day, in the afternoon, the river was covered with boats, and between two lines of lighters and long-boats carrying ordnance and prepared for action, the five members, attended by the sheriffs and a part of the trained-bands, proceeded to Westminster. Another body of the trained-bands advanced along the Strand. Their commander was one Skippon, who having risen from the ranks in the Dutch service, had been made captain of the artillery-ground to drill the citizens, and he now bore the novel title of "serjeant-major-general of the militia of the city of London." They were followed by vast numbers of the populace shouting against bishops and popish lords, and for privilege of parliament, and asking contemptuously as they passed Whitehall, "What is become of the king and his cavaliers?"

The members took their seats; Pym rose and expatiated

on the great kindness and affection which they had experienced in the city; the sheriffs then were called in and thanked by the speaker; the masters and officers of ships were also thanked; Skippon was appointed to attend each day with such a guard as he thought proper for the two houses. Next came four thousand men of Bucks, all on horseback, with the Protestation in their hats, with a proffer of their services to the parliament, and a petition to the king complaining of the accusation of the knight of their shire, Mr. Hampden*.

“From this day,” says Clarendon, “we may reasonably date the levying of war in England, whatsoever hath been since done being but the superstructures upon those foundations which were then laid.” Both parties had in fact resolved on an appeal to the sword; but, to do them justice, neither had any anticipation of the protracted contest and the bloodshed and calamities that were to ensue; each thought that the mere display of force would suffice to intimidate the other. Of the king’s intentions we think there can be no doubt; and the late attempt on them had convinced the popular leaders that their only safety lay in depriving the sovereign of his power†.

The officers and others who had formed a kind of guard for the king followed him out of town. They lodged at Kingston-on-Thames that night, and next day (12th) lord Digby came thither in his coach-and-six from Hampton-court, with a message from the king accepting the proffer of their services. The design in this is manifest; but how the commons could with any sense of truth or justice designate the conduct of Digby a levying of war against the king and kingdom is somewhat strange. Digby, conscious of his own designs and aware of their vengeance, fled to Holland. On the king’s refusal to remove Byron from the

* “Whereof,” says Whitelock, “probably he was not altogether ignorant beforehand.”

† “Mr. Hampden,” says Clarendon, “was much altered after this accusation, his nature and courage seeming much fiercer than before.”

command of the Tower, the houses directed Skippon to place a guard round it, that neither provisions should go in nor ammunition come out ; they directed sir John Hotham to go to Hull, where the arms and ammunition of the late army had been laid up, and to keep it with the aid of the trained-bands of the adjoining parts ; and they sent orders to Goring, governor of Portsmouth, to let no one in or out of that town but by *their* orders. We must here again observe, that the secret designs of the king, with all of which Pym and his friends were made acquainted by lady Carlisle and others, offered some justification of these stretches of power in the parliament. They knew, for example, that he had sent the earl of Newcastle, a man who was zealously devoted to him, to Hull, near which his estates and influence lay, with “ a private commission to be governor thereof,” says Clarendon, “ as soon as it should be fit to publish such a command, and in the meantime by his own interest to draw in such of the country as were necessary to guard the magazine.”

The grand object of the parliament was to obtain the entire control over the military force of the kingdom. For this end a bill which had been drawn up by St. John the last summer for settling the militia, was now brought in and read, with the important addition of “ the putting all the forts, castles, and garrisons into the hands of such persons as they could *confide in*.” Clarendon on this remarks, that “ when it had been with much ado accepted and first read, there were few men who imagined it would ever receive further countenance ; but now there were very few who did not believe it to be a very necessary provision for the peace and safety of the kingdom. So great an impression had the late proceedings made upon them, so that with little opposition it passed the commons, and was sent up to the lords.”

As the peers, however, hesitated to pass a measure so adverse to the crown, all efforts were made to intimidate them. Thus, when on one occasion the popular party in

the lords had recourse to their usual tactics of crying "Adjourn ! adjourn !" when they found matters likely to go against them, the duke of Richmond, a courtier, said, "if they would adjourn, he wished it might be for six months." For this the commons voted to "accuse him to the lords to be one of the malignant party," and to desire them to join in a petition to the king to remove him from any office about his person. Petitions also came pouring in from the counties round London, praying for all that the commons wanted. The common-council of the city, when applied to for a loan for the war in Ireland, could see no security for trade or anything else unless the lieutenant of the Tower were removed, and it and the other forts "put into such hands in whom the parliament might confide." Soon after came "The humble petition of many thousands of poor people in and about the city of London." These suitors could see no means of averting the ruin about to engulf them, but the removal of "the bishops and the popish lords and others of that malignant faction," which if not done, "they shall be forced to lay hold on the next remedy which is at hand to effect it; want and necessity breaking the bounds of modesty." They modestly pray that, "those noble worthies of the house of peers who concur with you in your happy votes, may be earnestly desired to join with this honourable house, and to sit and vote as one entire body." Most gracious words were given to these amenders of the state; and Hollis, acting on the last hint, when he was sent to request the lords to join in a petition to the king about the militia, desired that "those lords who were willing to concur, would find some means to make themselves known, that it might be known who were against them, and they might make it known to those that sent them." The very porters of London, filled with patriot zeal, came to the number of fifteen thousand with a petition to the commons, complaining of the "prevalence of that adverse, malignant, blood-sucking, rebellious party," the cause of all the evils. Trade, they said, was dead for

want of fortification of the Cinque-ports, whence they themselves "did want employment in such a measure as did make their lives very uncomfortable." In conclusion, they desired "that justice might be done upon offenders according as the atrocity of their crimes had deserved; for if those things were any longer suspended, they should be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and to make good that saying, that necessity hath no law." The zeal of the good dames of the city was not less fervid; headed by Mrs. Anne Stagge, "a gentlewoman and brewer's wife," thousands of them came with a petition to the commons against prelates, papists, and so forth. The petition being read, Pym was sent out to answer them. He thanked them for their petition, which "came in a seasonable time," assured them their desires should be attended to, and entreated them "to repair to their houses, and turn their petition into prayers at home" for the commons.

"Such low arts of popularity were affected, and by such illiberal cant were the unhappy people incited to civil discord and convulsions!" is the reflection of Hume on this occasion. We do not go the same lengths as this writer, but we certainly do discern arts little worthy of men of that elevation to which their idolaters raise our Pym and Hampdens. In us, however, who only view in them statesmen of a higher order, they excite no surprise. They are the arts common to statesmen of all ages, as essential to them as cunning to the fox and ferocity to the tiger. We have only to look at the events of our own days for evidence.

Under the influence of this external pressure, the lords passed the bills for impressment and for taking away the bishops' votes, to both of which the king was induced, chiefly by the queen, to give his assent. To the ordinance in which the two houses joined respecting the militia, he deferred giving an answer till he should be at Dover, whither he was about to attend the queen, who, under the pretext of conveying his baby-wife to the prince of Orange,

was going to Holland, taking with her the crown-jewels, in order to purchase arms and ammunition for the impending contest. Charles feared that if he were to give a positive refusal at the time the queen's departure might be prevented.

The queen being safely off, Charles came to Greenwich, whither the prince of Wales was brought to meet him. He then gave his answer respecting the militia, offering to appoint the lords-lieutenant of counties nominated by parliament, provided that the powers to be given them should be first by law vested in himself. The houses voted the advisers of this reply to be enemies to the state. The king then went to Theobald's, whither he was followed by a committee with a petition stating that if he did not assent to what they had proposed they would be obliged for the safety of himself and his kingdoms to dispose of the militia themselves in the manner propounded to him. They also prayed that he and the prince would continue to reside in or about London. Charles gave an instant reply, declining to assent to their demands, but assuring them on his honour "that he had no thought but of peace and justice to his people." The parliament, on receiving this answer, resolved that the kingdom should be put in a posture of defence, and a declaration "containing the causes of their just fears and jealousies" be sent to the king. This declaration found him at Newmarket; his answer to it was of the same tenor with his former one. When the earl of Pembroke asked him, "Whether the militia might not be granted as was desired by the parliament for a time?" he replied, "By God, not for an hour. You have asked that of me in this was never asked of a king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children." The committee returned to London; the king pursued his journey to York, where he arrived the latter end of March.

As we are now on the eve of the civil war, we will state the previous conduct of both parties. The king had as-

sented to all that was demanded of him, except parting with the militia, and even in this he had yielded in a great measure. At the same time he had given abundant proof that by force or stratagem he would endeavour to recover all he had resigned, and that the only security of the parliament lay in his weakness; but that he had not the power now, unless aided by the ill conduct of his opponents, to make a successful attempt, late events had shown. Despotism was what *he* aimed at, that is plain; but did the Pym and Hampdens aim at nothing beyond the maintenance of constitutional liberty? This will best appear by an examination of their acts during the last year.

“After every allowance has been made,” says Hallam*, “he must bring very heated passions to the records of those times, who does not perceive in the conduct of the house of commons a series of glaring violations, not only of positive and constitutional, but of those higher principles which are paramount to all immediate policy.” He then collects the following instances. The ordinance for disarming recusants, and that authorizing the earl of Leicester to raise men for the defence of Ireland,—encroachments on the prerogative; Pym’s menace to the peers, that if they did not pass the bills sent to them by the commons, these last, “with such of the lords as are more sensible of the safety of the kingdom,” shall represent the same to the king†, and their accusation of the duke of Richmond, above related,—encroachments on the house of peers; their enormous extension of privilege, any one who said a word against them being dragged off to prison‡, as also were

* Constitutional History, ii. 192.

† This resolution, the germ of that of the house of lords being useless, was moved by Pym on Dec. 3, 1641, “before the argument from necessity could be pretended.” On Mr. Godolphin’s objecting that if *they* went to the king with the lesser part of the lords, the greater part of these might go to him with the lesser part of them, he was ordered to withdraw, and his offence was to be taken into consideration the following Tuesday.—Hallam.

‡ One Sandford, a royalist tailor, being charged with saying, “that the earl of Essex was a traitor; that all the parliament were traitors; that the earl of

those charged with introducing ceremonies in the church, (a thing surely not belonging to them) "the outrageous attempts to intimidate the minority of their own body by committing them to the Tower for such language used in debate as would not have excited any observation in ordinary times*." Then again, as the same writer observes, "their despotic violation of the rights of the people, in imprisoning those who presented or prepared respectful petitions in behalf of the established constitution, while they encouraged those of a tumultuous multitude at their bar in favour of innovation, their usurpation at once of the judicial and legislative powers in all that related to the church, particularly by their committee for scandalous ministers, under which denomination, adding reproach to injury, they subjected all who did not reach the puritan standard of perfection to contumely and vexation, and ultimately to expulsion from their lawful property." He then notices the impeachment of the twelve bishops, whose protest, though "not perhaps entirely well expressed, is abundantly justifiable in its argument by the plainest principles of law." In fine, he says, that "these great abuses of power becoming daily more frequent as they became less excusable, would make a sober man hesitate to support them in a civil war, wherein their success must not only consummate the destruction of the crown, the church, and the peerage, but expose all who had dissented from their proceedings, as it ultimately happened, to an oppres-

Warwick was a traitor, and he wished his heart in his boots; and that he cursed the parliament, and wished Mr. Pym (calling him King Pym) and sir John Hotham both hanged;"—for this the lords (the puppets of the commons) sentenced him to be kept at work in Bridewell *for his life*, besides some minor inflictions. Pym was called by the royalists King Pym on account of his portly person and his absolute power over his party.

* See the case of Mr. Palmer, (above p. 407.) In the debate on the late declaration, in which they most falsely charged the king with a design to change his religion, sir Ralph Hopton, for saying, "that they seemed to ground an opinion of the king's apostasy upon a less evidence than would serve to hang a fellow for stealing a horse," was committed to the Tower. Clarendon, ii 282. See also the case of Trelawny, stated by him, in the following page.

sion, less severe perhaps, but far more sweeping, than that which had rendered the star-chamber odious."

The further reflections of this judicious writer, almost the only one who evinces impartiality on this subject, and does not act the part of advocate to one side or the other, are most deserving of consideration. He thinks as we do, that the parliament, relying on the justice of their cause and the favour of the people, should have accepted the offer of the king respecting the militia. We will add, that we cannot divest our mind of a suspicion, that it was the secret design of Pym, Hampden, and some others to convert the monarchy into a republic, of which they hoped to be themselves the chiefs; for *they* were no religious zealots; their views were chiefly political.

To understand the question of the militia, it is necessary to recollect, that at this time there was no standing army in England. After the feudal army had gone out of use, the kings used to raise troops for their foreign wars by contracts with influential noblemen, and by giving very large pay. At the same time the old Saxon *Fyrd* continued under another form, and the men in each shire were required to keep arms and be ready to suppress insurrection and repel invasion. It was expressly provided by a statute of Edward I. that the militia should not be required to leave their own county except in these cases; but during the period of the Tudor despotism, this was little heeded; and a statute of Philip and Mary empowered the crown to levy men for service in war, and men were in consequence frequently pressed to serve in Ireland and elsewhere. When it was necessary to call out the forces of the counties, commissions of array were issued to particular persons for this purpose; but the sheriff was the person who usually disposed of the military force of his county. In Mary's reign a new officer named the lord-lieutenant was appointed, usually a peer or influential commoner in the county, whose office was altogether military. It was his office to muster and train, when neces-

sary, the able-bodied men of the county, and he was the commander of the militia, or trained-bands as they were named. Each county had its magazine of arms and ammunition, to be issued to the trained-bands when called into service.

As the institution of lords-lieutenant was a Tudor measure, it is quite certain that they had been always named by the crown; yet it was the right of appointing to this office that the commons now demanded; and sooner than yield to the king on this point, they plunged the nation into a civil war. "No one," says Hallam again, "can pretend that this was not an encroachment on his prerogative. It can only find a justification in the precarious condition, as the commons asserted it to be, of those liberties they had so recently obtained, in their just persuasion of the king's insincerity, and in the demonstrations he had already made of an intention to win back his authority at the sword's point. But it is equitable on the other hand to observe, that the commons had by no means greater reason to distrust the faith of Charles than he had to anticipate fresh assaults from them on the power he had inherited, on the form of religion which alone he thought lawful, on the counsellors who had served him most faithfully, and on the nearest of his domestic ties. If the right of self-defence could be urged by parliament for this demand of the militia, must we not admit that a similar plea was equally valid for the king's refusal? However arbitrary and violent the previous government of Charles may have been, however disputable his sincerity at present, it is vain to deny that he had made the most valuable concessions, and such as had cost him very dear. It was not unreasonable for the king to pause at the critical moment which was to make all future denial nugatory, and inquire whether the prevailing majority designed to leave him what they had not taken away."

CHAPTER VII.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED).

1642—1644.

Gates of Hull shut against Charles.—Manifestoes on both sides.—Raising of money and troops.—Royal standard raised at Nottingham.—Battle of Edgehill.—Affair at Brentford.—Treaty at Oxford.—Arrival of the queen.—Waller's plot.—Battles of Lansdown and Roundway-down.—Death and character of Hampden.—Surrender of Bristol.—Siege of Gloucester.—Battle of Newbury.—Ill conduct of the king.—Cessation with the Irish rebels.—Death and character of Pym.—Oxford parliament.—Progress of the war.—Battle of Cropredy-bridge.—Battle of Marston-moor.

THE nobility and gentry of York and the adjoining counties now resorted to the king with ardent expressions of sympathy and attachment. He had in fact succeeded in putting the parliament in the wrong, and men were become indignant at beholding the continued efforts (the secret motives of which they were ignorant of) for stripping the sovereign of all his powers and prerogatives. Many of the peers now came to him from London, and in the paper war of declarations and so forth, carried on between him and the parliament, his manifestoes, prepared by Hyde, were as superior to theirs in argument as in eloquence. His tone now became more elevated; there was an end of concession, he insisted on his rights; and in the opinion of many, he required nothing to which his claims were not as well founded as any private man's right to his lands and tenements.

The pernicious influence of the queen, though absent, still operated. In his uxoriousness, Charles thought himself bound, regardless of consequences, to fulfil any unwary promise which she had drawn from him, and he now, in compliance with her will, and in opposition to the opinion of his best advisers, required the earls of Essex and Hol-

land to resign the staff and key of their offices. By this he only gratified spleen, and he lost the advantage of the restraint which honour might have imposed on the subsequent conduct of these noblemen.

The earl of Northumberland, lord admiral, being delicate in health, the commons required that he should appoint the earl of Warwick to command for a year in his stead; the king, when this arrangement was notified to him, wrote expressing his desire that sir John Pennington should be appointed. The parliament persisted, and Warwick took the command of the fleet without the king's consent. A petition was then forwarded that the magazine might be removed from Hull to London. This was of course refused, for to obtain possession of it was a principal cause of the king's coming to the north. He sent (Apr. 8) a message to the houses, declaring his intention to go in person to suppress the rebellion in Ireland, for which purpose he would raise a guard of two thousand foot and two hundred horse in the counties about West Chester, to be armed from the magazine at Hull. The reply of the parliament to this message was a positive refusal of their consent, and orders were sent to Hotham to transmit the magazine to London. The king, who regarded the magazine as his private property, resolved to go forthwith and take possession of it. He therefore (22nd,) sent the young duke of York with some attendants to Hull, where they were received with all due respect by Hotham, and the next morning he rode thither himself with two or three hundred of his servants and of the gentlemen of the county; and when he came near the town, he sent word to the governor that he was coming to dine with him. Hotham, an irresolute man, was in great perplexity, but the magistrates and officers persuaded him not to admit the king. Charles therefore found the bridges up, the gates shut, and the walls manned. Hotham appeared on the walls, and on his knees with many professions of duty declined to admit him for fear of offending the parliament. The king, find-

ing all his efforts vain, proclaimed Hotham a traitor, and retired deeply mortified to Beverley. The duke of York and his retinue were dismissed in safety. In reply to the complaints of the king, the parliament justified the conduct of Hotham, and the ordnance and ammunition in Hull were shortly afterwards removed to London.

The parliament now issued orders to the lords-lieutenant to put their ordinance* respecting the militia into execution; the king on the other hand forbade obedience to it, and issued commissions of array. While both sides were raising and disciplining men, the appeal to the people by means of declarations and manifestoes was kept up, and messages and answers were going and coming between York and London. On the 2nd of June the parliament sent their *ultimatum* in a petition containing nineteen articles, which, as Hallam well observes, "went to abrogate in spirit the whole existing constitution," for they required that the king should consent to all the changes in church and state which they had proposed; that all offices of every kind should be given to none but those of whom they approved, *i. e.* whom they should appoint; that the laws against recusants should be put in force, and their children be taken from them to be educated by protestants, etc. etc. If he consented to these demands, they promised to secure him an abundant revenue. The king made an indignant reply, "protesting that if he were both vanquished and a prisoner, in worse condition than any the most unfortunate of his predecessors had ever been reduced unto, he would never stoop so low as to grant those demands, and to make himself of a king of England a duke of Venice†."

The majority of the peers and a great number of the commons were now with the king at York, for which nine

* An *ordinance* was a measure which had passed the two houses, but not having had the royal assent could not be called an act of parliament, though it was enforced as if it were such.

† May, 129.

of the former were impeached by the commons. The lord-keeper Littleton had likewise been induced to send the great seal to the king, and he also repaired himself to York. In the presence of the peers (June 13), the king then made a solemn declaration of his intention to maintain the laws and the protestant religion, and they in return subscribed a promise to defend the crown and the protestant religion, the liberties of the people and the just privileges of the king and parliament. Charles, moreover, made before them (15th) a solemn protestation that he had no intention of levying war against the parliament, and they subscribed a declaration of their belief in his assertions. Among the subscribers was the upright Falkland; we may therefore be certain that there was no fraud designed. As the parliament had made an order for bringing in money or plate for maintaining horsemen and arms, the king wrote to the lord-mayor and aldermen of London not to raise any forces for the parliament, and he invited men to bring him horses, arms, and money on the security of the royal parks and forests, with eight per cent. interest.

The king went to Nottingham and Lincolnshire, where his speeches and declarations had a good effect, and a vessel sent by the queen with arms and ammunition (of which he hitherto had none) being arrived, he advanced with three thousand foot and one thousand horse to lay siege to Hull; but the earl of Warwick having secured the fleet, whose co-operation he had looked for, and the raw trained-bands not standing their ground when the besieged made a sally, he found it expedient to retire. The parliament on their side were far advanced in their preparations; they had appointed (July 4) a 'Committee of Safety' of fifteen persons as an executive; it was voted that an army (of twenty regiments of foot and seventy-five troops of horse) should be raised. Money was easily obtained by loans, and "by the endeavours of sundry ministers and others, a great quantity of money, plate, and ammunition

was brought in, even by some poor women to their wedding rings and bodkins*.”

The balance of power seemed greatly on the side of the parliament. They were in possession of all the magazines and forts except Newcastle-on-Tyne; the people of London and all the great towns were mostly in their favour, as were the southern and eastern counties; those of the north and west and of Wales inclined more to the royal cause. The great body of the nobility and gentry were on the side of the king; and the catholics, as was natural, were unanimous in his favour. But every county and every town and village, almost every family, was divided in sentiment, some being from principle or prejudice in favour of the ancient order of things, others desirous of change and ardent for revolution.

The parliament gave the command of their army to the earl of Essex. This nobleman, whom we have seen in his early youth disgraced by the infamy of his countess, had long served in the Low Countries, and acquired in that school a knowledge of military discipline and tactics†. He may have retained a painful recollection of the treatment which he had experienced from the father of the king, but he was a man of unblemished honour, and a foe neither to the monarchy nor the church. The earl of Bedford, also a man of moderate character, was appointed his lieutenant-general. The soldiers of fortune who had been in the late Scottish army were invited and received commands. Such members of either houses as had influence enough to raise

* Whitelock. “The seamstress brought in her silver thimble, the chambermaid her bodkin, the cook her silver spoon; and some sort of females were free in their contributions so far as to part with their rings and ear-rings, as if some golden calf were to be set up and idolised.” Howel, *Philanglus*, p. 128.

“Brought in their children’s spoons and whistles,
To purchase swords, carbines and pistols;
Their husbands, cullies, and sweethearts
To take the saints’ and churches’ parts.”—HUDIBRAS.

† The favourite name for Essex among the soldiers was Old Robin.

regiments of foot or troops of horse, held the command of them as colonels and captains. As there had been as yet no certain uniform in the English army, the leaders gave their own colours to their men. That of the general was 'orange-tawny,' and scarfs of this hue designated the parliamentary soldiers. We also meet with the green-coats of Hampden, the red-coats of Hollis, the blue-coats of lord Say, and the purple of lord Brook. Sir Arthur Haselrig's 'lobsters,' or cuirassiers, were also famous*. The royal troops were raised in a similar manner†, but as they consisted chiefly of the nobility, gentry, and their dependents, they were in general of a superior order to those of the parliament, who had enlisted all sorts of rabble‡. The troop raised by Oliver Cromwell formed a noble exception. "Cromwell," says Whitelock, "had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders and freeholders' sons, and who upon matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel and under Cromwell. And thus being well armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would as one man stand firmly, and charge desperately."

In the contest to be carried on between the two parties, we shall meet with little of scientific warfare; none of the skilful manœuvres to bring on or avoid engagements employed by a Condé or Turenne; no encampments; the

* Clarendon, iv. 120.

† The 'white-coats' of the earl of Newcastle distinguished themselves at Marston-moor.

‡ "At my first going out into this engagement," said Cromwell, "I saw their men were beaten on every hand. I did indeed. . . . 'Your troops,' said I to Hampden, 'are most of them old, decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and,' said I, 'their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them. . . . ? You must get men of a spirit, and take it not ill what I say, I know you will not, of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still.' He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one," etc. etc.

troops on each side quartered in towns and villages ; continual beating up of quarters ; battles fought wherever the hostile troops came in sight ; every strong house a garrison ; incessant besieging of towns, castles, and private houses. Finally, we shall discern a spirit of humanity, courtesy and honour, and an absence of atrocities on most occasions, such as have never occurred in any other civil war.

As is usual in civil commotions, each party gave specious names to its own side, and opprobrious to the contrary. The royalists called their opponents Rebels and Rogues, and were in return styled Malignants. By the term Honest Men each party meant its own adherents ; the Godly, the Well-affected, were also designations of the adherents of the parliament.

The commencement of hostilities was as follows. Goring, the governor of Portsmouth, had been in high favour with the parliament since the affair of the army-plot. He had secretly, however, made his peace with the king, for whom he had engaged to hold that town ; yet so well did he act his part, that the parliament appointed him lieutenant-general of their horse. He made various pretexts for still remaining at Portsmouth ; at length, on receiving peremptory orders to join, he declared that he held that place from the king, and durst not quit it without his leave. Forthwith a part of the army under sir William Waller appeared before the town (Aug. 2). The king, on receiving intelligence, proclaimed Essex and his officers traitors, and called on all his good subjects to meet him in arms at Nottingham on the 25th of the month. This proclamation the parliament declared to be a scandalous and libellous paper, and all who advised or abetted it traitors.

On the evening of the 25th of August, a stormy day, the king, who was at Nottingham with a small train of horse, rode out from the castle at their head. The royal standard, which was borne by sir Edward Verney, was then set up amid the sound of drums and trumpets ; but the

whole scene was melancholy, and it was regarded as an ill omen that the standard was blown down during the night. From Nottingham the king moved westwards, collecting men and receiving voluntary contributions, and at Shrewsbury his army amounted to eighteen thousand men. Two disastrous events had meantime occurred. Goring had been obliged to surrender Portsmouth, and the marquess of Hertford, to whom the command of the western counties was committed, had been driven out of them by the earl of Bedford. Among the misfortunes attending the king may also be reckoned the arrival of his nephews, the princes Rupert and Maurice, two rude, impetuous, unprincipled soldiers of fortune, to whom, as the sacred blood flowed in their veins, he gave high and independent commands, in preference to those gallant men who were hazard- ing their fortunes and their lives in his cause.

Essex had been for some time with his forces at Northampton, whence he moved toward Worcester, near which place a body of five hundred horse was fallen on and routed by prince Rupert. On the 10th of October the king left Shrewsbury, and proceeded by Bridgenorth and Birmingham to Kenilworth, whence, after making a halt of some days, he advanced toward the capital, and on Saturday (Oct. 22) he came to a village named Edgecot, within four miles of Banbury. Essex, who was following him, arrived about the same time at the village of Keinton, within seven or eight miles of Edgecot. It had been the design of the king to halt for a day, and to take Banbury; but, on learning the vicinity of Essex, it was resolved to turn back and give him battle, and early in the morning of Sunday (23rd) the cavalry of the royal army proceeded to take its position on the summit of Edgehill, which overlooks the valley named the Vale of the Red Horse, in which Keinton lies at about two miles' distance.

Essex, who had intended to halt that day and wait for his artillery and the rest of his forces, seeing that he must give battle, drew out his army in the vale. On the right

wing he placed the greater part of his horse under sir William Balfour, the late lieutenant of the Tower, and now lieutenant-general to the earl of Bedford; another body under Sir James Ramsey, the commissary-general, was on the left; the foot led by himself in person occupied the centre. It was not till after noon that the royal army began to descend the hill, for some of the regiments had to march from a distance of seven or eight miles. The cavalry on the right was commanded by prince Rupert, that on the left by Wilmot the commissary-general; the foot were led by the earl of Lindsey the general; the royal standard was borne by sir Edward Verney. The superiority of numbers was rather on the side of the king. The day was clear and fine; between two and three o'clock, the battle, the first in which Englishmen were opposed to each other since the war of the Roses, commenced by the discharge of cannon on both sides; the infantry then engaged with great resolution; Rupert, with the impetuosity which characterised him, charged the horse opposed to him and drove them off the field; he pursued them beyond Keinton, but instead of returning to support the royal infantry, he fell to plundering the baggage which was in that village. Meanwhile, though Wilmot was also successful on the left, the infantry was hard pressed, and a charge made by Balfour on their flank threw them into utter confusion; the earl of Lindsey was wounded and made a prisoner, and with him his son lord Willoughby of Eresby, sir Edmund Verney was slain and the standard taken*, and the king himself and his two sons ran the risk of being captured. When Rupert at length returned, the troops were so broken and scattered that they could not be brought again into action, and night now came to terminate the conflict. The royal army retired over the hill, that of the parliament remained the whole night on the ground, where next morning they were joined by Hampden's and other regiments to the number of four

* It was recovered however by Capt. Smith, who was knighted for the exploit.

thousand men, but instead of following the king they fell back to Warwick. The number of the slain was said to be about five thousand men, the loss being probably nearly equal on both sides. The brave earl of Lindsey died of his wounds; lord Aubigny, brother of the duke of Richmond, was killed, on the side of the king; on that of the parliament, lord St. John, and colonels Essex and Ramsey. Each side claimed the victory; the advantage was however clearly on that of the king, for he obliged Banbury to surrender, and marched unmolested to Oxford, whence parties of his horse advanced toward the capital*.

The parliament in some consternation recalled Essex with his army to their defence, and they at the same time sent a petition to the king, who was now (Nov. 11) at Colnbrook, for an accommodation. To this he gave a favourable reply; but urged by his evil genius, prince Rupert, instead of remaining where he was or retiring, as had been best, to Reading, he advanced to Brentford, in which one of Essex's regiments lay. After a stout defence they were overcome, several were drowned in attempting to swim across the Thames, and many were made prisoners. Next day Essex drew out his whole force, which aided by the city trained-bands amounted to twenty-four thousand men, on Turnham-green. The king, greatly inferior in numbers, on learning that three thousand men who had been posted at Kingston were marching round by London to join the main army, led his troops over the bridge at that town, whence he proceeded to Reading, and having garrisoned that place and Wallingford, took up his quarters for the winter in Oxford. Though in the affair of Brentford there was nothing contrary to the known rules of war, no cessation of arms having been agreed on, the parliament in their usual manner made it an occasion of reproach for perfidy and ill-faith against the king, whose cause was certainly rather injured than advanced by it†.

* See Appendix (G).

† See the just remarks on it in Defoe's 'Memoirs of a Cavalier.'

Still the desire of the people was for peace; they had already had a foretaste of the evils of war in the insolence and violence of the soldiery on both sides and in the heavy impositions laid on them; an ordinance of the parliament at this very time requiring every man to give a twentieth of his property to the public service. A deputation from the city therefore proceeded (Jan. 10, 1643) to Oxford, and presented a petition to the king, and shortly after (31st) four lords and eight commoners came to the same place with fourteen propositions from the parliament. These however were quite as unreasonable as the nineteen at York*. The king made six proposals in return, which were nearly as unreasonable. The violent men in the commons were for returning no reply; but the more moderate party prevailing, the earl of Northumberland, with sir John Holland, sir William Armyn, and Whitelock and Pierpoint, came to Oxford (Mar. 20) and remained there in treaty till the 15th of April, when they were recalled by the parliament, on the king's refusal to disband his troops unless they engaged to restore the members of both houses and adjourn to some place twenty miles from London. As Whitelock observes, it was quite improbable that they would "leave the city of London, their best friends and strength, and put a discontent upon them."

The candid Whitelock remarks on this occasion the considerable mental power displayed by the king, whose unhappiness he says was "that he had a better opinion of others' judgments than of his own†." One material point he says they had nearly brought to a conclusion, but as it

* "The nineteen propositions," says Hume, "showed their *inclination* to abolish royalty, they only asked at present the *power* of doing it."

† Lilly had the same opinion of the king. "Though," says he, "in most dangerous results and extraordinary serious consultations and very material either for state or commonwealth he would himself give most solid advice and sound reasons why such or such a thing should be so or not so conducted, yet was he most easily withdrawn from his own most wholesome and sound advice or resolutions, and with as much facility drawn or inclined to embrace a far more unsafe and nothing so wholesome a counsel. He would argue lo-

was past midnight the king deferred putting his answer into writing till morning. Next day his answer was the very contrary of what he had promised to give. Some of those, they heard, who wished the war to continue, had prevailed on him to change his mind. Clarendon's account however is less favourable to the king, who, he says, had made a promise to the queen, never to make peace but through her mediation.

That royal lady was now again in England. She had landed (February 16) at Burlington in Yorkshire, having escaped Batten the parliamentary admiral. This officer coming into the road discharged several rounds of shot at the house in which the queen was lodged, and she was obliged to rise from her bed and seek shelter behind a bank in the open fields. The earl of Newcastle then came and escorted her to York, where she remained for four months. Pym and his party (May 23) forthwith impeached her for high treason, an unmanly act, but one well calculated to answer *their* purposes.

While the king and parliament were in treaty there had been no cessation of arms, and the balance of success had been clearly on the royal side. In the west, the Cornishmen, led by sir Ralph Hopton, sir Bevil Greenvil and others, defeated Ruthin the governor of Plymouth at Braddock-down near Liskeard, and then took the town of Saltash, and advanced to Tavistock, where a treaty of peace was concluded between the counties of Devon and Cornwall. In Yorkshire a similar truce was concluded between the two parties; the same was done in Cheshire. But these pacific measures did not suit the designs of the grandees in parliament. They reprobated such engagements, and in the plenitude of their power absolved their partisans from keeping them. A further mode of strengthening the parliamentary cause was the association of several adjoint-
gically and frame his arguments artificially, yet never almost had the happiness to conclude or drive on a design in his own sense, but was ever baffled by meaner capacities."

ing counties under the command of some leader appointed by the commander-in-chief. The first and principal of these associations was that of the eastern counties under the earl of Manchester.

On the 15th of April the earl of Essex sat down before Reading with an army of fifteen thousand men. The governor, sir Arthur Aston, a catholic and an able officer, having been wounded, the command fell to colonel Fielding. The king advanced to within a few miles of the town, but he found it advisable to allow a surrender to be made if good conditions were obtained, and on the 27th Fielding gave up the town, the garrison of between three and four thousand men being allowed to march out with the honours of war, taking with them all their arms and ammunition. But he basely consented to abandon the deserters. On this account chiefly he was tried by a court-martial and sentenced to be beheaded; the penalty however was remitted by the king. Essex remained at Reading, though urged by Hampden to advance against Oxford, for his soldiers were suffering from disease, and many of them deserted.

In the latter end of the month of May, the parliament got information of a plot against their authority in the city of London. The principal person engaged in it was Edmund Waller the celebrated poet, a man of good family and fortune, a member of the house of commons, and one of the late commissioners to Oxford. The object of it seems to have been to put in execution a commission of array given by the king for the city, and thus to give strength and union to the friends of peace and the royalists, and force the parliament to come to terms with the king. Many members of both houses, it is said, were acquainted with it, but a servant who overheard some of the discourse about it, having given information to Pym, Waller and some others were arrested, tried, and found guilty of treason by a court-martial. Two eminent citizens, namely,

Tomkins (Waller's brother-in-law) and Chaloner, were hanged near their own houses. Waller, who acted like Lucan in a similar case, accusing his most intimate friends and making all the discoveries that were desired, also affecting the greatest remorse for his crime and seeking religious consolation from the leading divines, was after a year's confinement permitted to retire to the continent. He was obliged to pay a fine of 10,000*l*. A somewhat similar plot had been discovered at Bristol a little before, and Robert Yeomans (a late sheriff) and George Bouchier were hanged for their share in it. No men indeed were less disposed to endure opposition to their sovereign power than the professed champions of liberty. Waller's plot was made the pretext of imposing a new oath and covenant, never to lay down their arms "so long as the papists in open war against the parliament should be protected from the justice thereof." An ordinance was made that every man should take this engagement in his parish church.

To return to military affairs. The brave Cornishmen having given their opponents a defeat at Stratton (May 16), the marquess of Hertford and prince Maurice were sent thither by the king to follow up the success. Devon was speedily reduced, and the royalists advanced into Somerset. The parliament sent their active general Waller to the west, and an indecisive action took place at Lansdown near Bath (July 5), in which the gallant sir Bevil Greenvil was slain. The king sent Wilmot with a body of fifteen hundred horse to the support of the Cornishmen, who were now closely besieged in the town of Devizes. Waller advanced with his troops to prevent their junction; the two forces encountered on Roundway-down near Devizes (13th), and the parliamentarians were routed with great slaughter. Waller fled to Bristol, whence he hastened up to London to justify himself. The parliament, in imitation of Rome, went forth to meet him, and the speaker

returned him thanks for his services. Essex and he threw the blame on each other; but Waller never recovered the ground he had lost.

The very day of the defeat of Waller, the queen joined the king at Edgehill with a large reinforcement of troops, ammunition and artillery. The royal cause was now rather prosperous in the north; for though sir Thomas Fairfax had defeated the royal troops at Wakefield (May 20), where colonel Goring who had returned was made a prisoner, and a plan of the Hothams to give up Hull to the king was discovered and they sent prisoners to London, the defeat of Fairfax by Newcastle on Atherton-moor (June 30) had sunk the cause of the parliament.

After a long stay at Reading, Essex advanced to Thame within ten miles of Oxford. Here colonel Hurry, one of those Scottish soldiers of fortune who had joined the parliament, not being thought so much of as in his own opinion he deserved, went over to the king. As he knew exactly how Essex's army was disposed, he proposed to prince Rupert to beat up their quarters; the prince assented, and leaving Oxford in the evening (June 18), they advanced to Wycombe, where a regiment of horse and another of foot lay, and falling on them in the night killed or made prisoners of the whole, whence they went on to another village named Chinner, where they had the same success. They then prepared to return to Oxford with their prisoners and booty; but the alarm had been given; and as they were about to enter a lane from the plain called Chalgrave-field, they were overtaken by a body of horse collected at random. They turned, and after a sharp rencounter, drove them off with the loss of colonel Gunter and some of their other officers, and then proceeded uninterrupted to Oxford, where Hurry was knighted by the king*.

* Butler's hero distinguished himself in this affair. "That great-spirited little sir Samuel Luke so guarded himself with his *short* sword that he escaped without hurt,—though thrice taken prisoner, yet rescued, and those to whom he was a prisoner, slain. The third time he was taken prisoner, one of his own

One of the prisoners taken on this occasion said, that "he was confident Mr. Hampden was hurt, for he saw him ride off the field before the action was done, which he never used to do, with his head hanging down and resting his hands on the neck of his horse." This proved to be the fact; Hampden, who had put himself at the head of a troop of horse, was struck by a brace of balls in the shoulder. He rode to Thame and had his wounds dressed, but they proved mortal, and after suffering for six days, he expired on the 25th of June. His private virtues and his eminent talents are generally acknowledged. He exhibited the greatest courtesy and temper in debate; his manner was modest and diffident as it were, and he gradually, as if seeking information, infused his opinions into others. While his valour in the field was undoubted, his moral courage in the council and senate was no less eminent; and as he was one of the root-and-branch party, he would allow no obstacles to impede his design of abolishing the church and the monarchy. That however he was actuated by pure motives is a point about which we think there can be little dispute. The one party naturally exulted at his death; the other as naturally regarded it as a great calamity.

Essex retired with his army, broken and dispirited, to Kingston, and Rupert soon after marched into the west, where being joined by the Cornishmen, he laid siege to Bristol, of which Nathaniel Fiennes, son of Lord Say, was governor, with a garrison of two thousand five hundred foot and two regiments of horse. As the fortifications were weak Rupert resolved to try a storm (July 25). The defence of the garrison was gallant, but the assailants, though with great loss, gained the suburbs. While they hesitated what further to do, the city beat a parley. A

men, seeing two lead away his master a-foot, with his carabine he killed one of them and run the other through with his sword and mounted sir Samuel upon one of their horses and brought him clear off, for which his noble master gave him 100*l.*, as he well deserved it."—*Diurnal* quoted by Forster in his *Life of Hampden*, p. 371.

surrender was agreed on, the garrison being allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and the inhabitants to be secured in their persons and properties. These conditions however were badly kept, both soldiers and people being plundered by the victors, in retaliation, as Clarendon pretends, for similar breach of treaty at Reading. "I wish," he adds, "I could excuse those swervings from justice and right which were too frequently practised against contracts, under the notion that they with whom they were made were rebels and could not be too ill used*." The king himself came soon after and joined the army, and prince Maurice was sent into Devon, where he reduced most of the towns.

"The parliament," says May, their historian, "was now in a low ebb; they had no forces at all to keep the field, their main armies being quite ruined, and no hope in appearance left, but to preserve awhile those forts and towns which they then possessed; nor could they long hope to preserve them, unless the fortune of the field should change." Under these circumstances, they resolved to invite the Scots to their aid, and (July 20) the earl of Rutland, sir Henry Vane, and three others, attended by the divines Marshall and Nye, set out for Edinburgh as commissioners. Measures were adopted to raise men to repair Essex's army, and as the city of London lay open and exposed, an intrenchment of twelve miles in circuit was commenced and speedily completed, "gentlemen of the best quality," says Whitelock, "knights, and ladies, resorting to the works daily, carrying spades, mattocks, and other suitable implements; so that it became a pleasant spectacle at London, to see them going out in such order and numbers, with drums beating before them; which put life into

* Clarendon, iv. 148. Fiennes was brought to a court-martial for the surrender of Bristol. Prynne and Clement Walker, two bitter unrelenting persecutors, managed the case against him, and he was sentenced to death (Dec. 28). Essex however pardoned him, and he was allowed to retire to the continent.

the drooping people, being taken for a happy omen that, in so low a condition, they yet seemed not to despair." The peace-party however was now strong in the houses, and on Saturday (Aug. 5) a proposal of the lords for a treaty with the king was carried in the commons. But next day the pulpits were all set at work, and Pennington the lord mayor held a court of common-council where a petition against the measure was prepared. On Monday such a multitude came down with the petition, that the lords voted it a breach of privilege and adjourned, and the commons, under this pressure from without, rejected the propositions by a small majority.

Had the king marched to London with all his forces it is possible that the war might have been ended and yet no despotism established, but his advisers feared the spirit of the city-militia, and it was resolved to lay siege to Gloucester, the only place of importance between Bristol and Lancashire held by the parliament. Its governor, colonel Massey, a soldier of fortune, had intimated (Clarendon says) that if the king came in person he would not hold it out; and accordingly on the 10th of August the royal standard waved "on a fair hill in the clear view of the city"; and the king sent in a message, offering pardon without any exception. He gave them two hours to reply, and "within less than that time," proceeds the historian, "together with the trumpeter, returned two citizens from the town with lean pale sharp and bad visages, and in such garb and carriage that at once made the most severe countenances merry, and the most cheerful hearts sad [serious]. The men, without any circumstances of duty or good manners, in a pert shrill undismayed accent, said they had brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester to the king." The answer imported they held it for the king, and would only obey his commands, signified by both houses of parliament. Massey's defence was brave and skilful, but at last he was reduced to extremity: the parliament on learning his condition sent Essex with a well-

appointed army of fourteen thousand to his relief. Essex conducted his march with great prudence, repelling all the assaults of the royal cavalry. At his approach the besieging army withdrew, and he entered the town (Sept. 8.), where he remained for two days.

As the royalists were greatly superior in cavalry, Essex wished to avoid an action on his return. He halted for five days at Tewkesbury, intending, as it were, to proceed northwards; but in the night he made a forced march to Cirencester, where he surprised a convoy; and having thus got clear of the open country, he moved leisurely toward London. His army had nearly got over Auburn Chase on its way to Newbury, when his rear was suddenly assailed by prince Rupert at the head of five or six thousand horse. Both sides fought gallantly, but this interruption obliged Essex to halt for the night at Hungerford; and when he thought to get into Newbury next day, he found that the king had arrived there two hours before.

An action was now unavoidable. Essex halted for the night, and at six o'clock the following morning (Sept. 20.) both armies engaged, and the conflict continued till it was terminated by night. The steadiness and intrepidity of the London trained-bands excited the admiration of both friends and foes. According to the parliamentary writers, the king lost two thousand men, while on their own side there fell no more than five hundred; but this statement is hardly credible. The earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon were slain, but the greatest loss to the royal party was the lord Falkland. This nobleman, in whose praises all are agreed, had been as earnest for the reformation of public abuses as any man; but when at last he began to discern the ulterior views of the leading reformers, he resolved to throw his influence on the side of the crown, now the weaker party. He did expect that a decided victory of the royal forces would have brought the adverse party to reason; but finding his hopes baffled, he lost all his cheer-

fulness, and often after sitting long silent among his friends he would utter *Peace, peace*, in a sad tone, and declare that the thoughts of the war "took his sleep from him and would shortly break his heart." On the morning of the battle he called for a clean shirt, saying that if he was slain they should not find his body in foul linen, for he had a strong persuasion that he should not outlive the day. He placed himself in the first rank of lord Byron's horse, and he was shot in the lower part of the belly, and died of the wound. He was only thirty-four years of age.

The day after the battle, Essex, as the royal army did not appear, directed his march, after burying the dead, to Reading. Rupert followed with his cavalry, and caused some confusion in the rear. Having halted a couple of days at Reading, Essex pursued his march to London, where he was received with the greatest honour. The king garrisoned Reading once more; he also placed a garrison in Donnington castle near Newbury, once the residence of Geoffrey Chaucer. He then retired to Oxford for the winter.

During the siege of Gloucester, two events occurred, of which the one showed the king's folly, the other his obstinate adherence to despotism.

In the course of the summer several more members of both houses had repaired to Oxford. There were others who had hitherto gone all lengths with the violent party, but who had no mind to destroy the constitution; of these the chief were the earls of Northumberland, Holland, Bedford and Clare. Essex also agreed with them in sentiment, but his high sense of honour made him decline to comply with Holland's proposal of employing the army to make both parties submit to reasonable terms of peace. Northumberland retired to his house at Petworth in Sussex; Holland opened a correspondence through Jermyn with the queen, and soon after he and Bedford and Clare

went into the king's quarters (Aug. 20); Clare, who was least obnoxious, going on to Oxford, while the other two stopped at Wallingford.

Those who ascribe wisdom or even common sense to the king and his advisers, will suppose that these lords were received with all favour and courtesy. But quite the contrary. The king who was at Gloucester sent word to his council to debate about their reception; and Hyde and Saville, taking a rational view of the case, thought that they should be received graciously, as an encouragement to others to follow their example; but the more violent insisted they should be obliged to express on oath their abhorrence of the rebellious arms and counsels; while a third party were for having them treated with simple indifference. The king came to Oxford on account of this affair, and the last course was fixed on. Bedford and Holland were therefore permitted to come to court, but they found themselves generally shunned. They followed the king to Gloucester, and fought bravely on his side at Newbury; but all availed not to efface the memory of their imputed guilt; and after a stay of three months they stole back to Westminster, where they met with a cool reception, being committed for a short time to custody. Thus were lost all hopes of drawing away a portion of the supporters of the parliament. The truth is, there was a party at Oxford as adverse to accommodation as the war-party at Westminster; men who looked for titles, places, pensions, and perhaps confiscations, should the royal cause triumph—a thing at this time by no means unlikely,—and who wished to have as few sharers as possible in the spoil.

If the king was imprudent in this matter he was perhaps worse in the other—a *cessation* with the Irish rebels.

We have seen above reasons for suspecting him to have authorised the rising of the Irish catholics. These men had now settled down into a kind of independent state; Kilkenny was their seat of government, where a general

assembly was held, and a supreme council appointed to act as an executive. Ambassadors were to be sent to the pope and to the great catholic princes. The English and Scottish forces had, however, meantime been reinforced, and they had frequently beaten the rebels in the field, and recovered several towns and forts. Charles had under various pretexts detained the earl of Leicester in England, that the earl (now marquess) of Ormond, who was a zealous royalist, might have the authority in Ireland. The parliament, always jealous of the king's proceedings in that country, had sent over two of their members to watch matters there; but Ormond after some time sent them back, and he removed Parsons, and even committed him, sir John Temple, and two other officers of state, to prison. The parliament, now with the tide of war rather running against them, viewed Ireland as of minor importance, and the catholics had a fair prospect of becoming complete masters of the island; but they were composed of two parties, differing in origin though agreeing in religion, and those of the English blood did not wish to cast off their allegiance. Moreover, they knew the power of England, and saw clearly that if the parliament should conquer the king, a fearful vengeance would be taken for the atrocities that had been committed. The proposals of Ormond for a cessation of arms during a twelvemonth, though opposed by the mere Irish, were therefore readily listened to, and on the 15th of September (just four days before the battle of Newbury) the cessation was signed, the Irish agreeing to give the king 30,000*l.*, half in money, half in cattle. In the following November Charles appointed Ormond lord-lieutenant, and directed him to send over the regiments that were serving in Ireland. The intelligence of the cessation did injury to the cause of the king in England, for many deserted his party on account of it. In the king's defence it may be said, that he only followed the example of the parliament, who had sent to invite the Scots. But

there was a wide difference between the Scots and the sanguinary bands whom Charles was willing to bring over from Ireland to aid in restoring his despotism*.

Meantime Vane and his associates had negotiated a treaty with the Scots, who though the king had granted them all they had required, agreed to aid on condition of a 'Solemn League and Covenant' being taken by the parliament and people of England. On the 29th of November the treaty was finally concluded, the Scots engaging to furnish an army of twenty-one thousand men, to be paid by the English parliament. It was also agreed that a 'committee of both kingdoms,' to which each were to send commissioners, should sit at London for the management of the war and transaction of all affairs between the two kingdoms†.

One of the measures of the parliament this year had been to form a new Great Seal. When this was proposed the lords refused their assent, but, as usual, they could only interpose a delay. The seal was made, and commissioners were appointed to hold it (Oct. 11); and in one day not less than five hundred writs were sealed. It bore on one side the arms of England and Ireland, on the other, "the picture of the house of commons, the members sitting"—a clear indication of where the real power of the state was supposed to lie.

On the 8th of December died, at Derby-house, which the parliament had assigned him for a residence, the celebrated John Pym. His disease was an imposthume in

* Bishop Warburton however (note on Clarendon, vii. 591) says that Charles was justifiable in the whole of this affair "as a politician and king and governor of his people."

† In this alliance, the Scots, as usual, would dictate respecting the church, and nothing would satisfy them short of the absolute uniformity of the English church with their own kirk. The article, however, was worded to this effect, that the church of England should "be reformed according to the word of God, and after the example of the best reformed churches," by which they of course thought nothing but the kirk could be meant. They were afterwards taught that the words would bear a different sense.

the mesentery. He was buried with great pomp in Westminster Abbey, the body being carried by ten of the principal members of the house of commons, and followed by the remaining members of both houses, and by the assembly of divines. The parliament voted a sum of 10,000*l.* for the payment of his debts, and settled a pension on his son.

The character of this eminent man has been presented under various lights by the writers of the different parties. It must be allowed that no man was ever better qualified to be a parliamentary leader than he was. To an extensive knowledge of the laws and constitution, he joined a manly and impressive elocution; his delivery was grave and dignified; his person tall and portly. He was also a statesman; he knew how to select his measures, and was never at a loss for expedients to carry them into effect. Clarendon says that he was "the most popular man that ever lived," and that no man better understood "the temper and affections of the kingdom." He was no fanatic in religion; he does not appear to have had any particular ill-feeling toward the episcopal church. What his original views were in politics it is difficult to ascertain; we find him of late the determined enemy of accommodation with the king (in whom he had evidently lost all confidence), and it is probable that he aimed at the establishment of a republic. Like all politicians, he had occasionally recourse to arts not strictly justifiable for the accomplishment of his objects.

Such was the state of affairs at the end of the year 1643. The next year opens with an attempt of the king to turn to his side the magic of the name of parliament. It was the advice of Hyde, that "since the whole kingdom was misled by the reverence they had to parliaments," he should summon all those who had left that at Westminster to repair to Oxford. Charles, beside his inherent antipathy to parliaments, feared that if he convened the legislature they would endeavour to effect a peace—a thing

to which he had no mind. It was therefore with extreme reluctance that he gave his consent. This assembly met on the 29th of January, 1644; the house of lords was more than the double, that of commons nearly the half, of those at Westminster; but as many were absent on military commands, the number which met were forty-three peers and one hundred and eighteen commoners*. Their first thoughts were of peace, and they all subscribed that very day a letter to lord Essex, inviting him to co-operate with them in effecting a termination of the present evils. Essex, in reply, sent the covenant and two declarations of the parliaments of England and Scotland. As Essex's pretext for not communicating the letter to the houses was its not containing an acknowledgement of them, the king was induced (Mar. 3) to send a message "to the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster." This, however, they treated as an insult, as it put those at Oxford on an equal footing with them. The hopes of peace now vanished, and the war was renewed.

The expedients practised on both sides to raise the necessary supplies were as follows. The parliament got loans, voluntary or forced, from the merchants of the city: they required all those who had not subscribed of their own accord to pay the twentieth part of their estates: they sequestered the estates of all delinquents within their quarters: they laid a weekly assessment of 10,000*l.* on the city of London, and 24,000*l.* on the rest of the kingdom where their power prevailed: in imitation of the Dutch, they introduced (for the first time) into the kingdom the tax ever since so well known under the name of *excise*, on wine, beer, soap, and a variety of foreign and

* The list published at Oxford made the peers 83, the commons 175; a great many peers, however, had been created of late. Whitelock says 280 members appeared in the house of commons at Westminster (Jan. 30), and that 100 were absent on the public service; but there must be a mistake, for the number who took the covenant were only 236, and of these 12 afterwards went over to the king. Their house of lords did not exceed 30. See Hallam, ii. 234.

domestic articles—even butchers' meat. They had, beside these, sundry other expedients for raising money. The king, on his side, obtained loans from his adherents: he issued privy seals; he set up an excise also, laid a weekly imposition on the inhabitants of the country about his garrisons, and sequestrated the estates of delinquents within his quarters. The armies on both sides plundered; but the king's troops, led by such men as Rupert, Maurice, Goring, and Richard Greenvil, committed by far the greatest excesses*.

The hopes of the king from the cessation in Ireland were disappointed. In the last November, a body of the troops which he had proposed to draw to his aid from that country† landed at Mostyn in Flintshire, where being joined to lord Byron, who commanded at Chester, they gained sundry advantages over the adherents of the parliament. Early in January they laid siege to the town of Nantwich, which was gallantly defended, and sir Thomas Fairfax, who was then at Manchester, having joined his forces with those of sir William Brereton, advanced to its relief. The Anglo-Irish army, though said to be inferior in number, drew out (Jan. 25) to give them battle; but after an obstinate conflict of two hours, being assailed by the garrison in their rear, they broke and fled, leaving five hundred slain and fifteen hundred prisoners; among these last were several of their officers, one of whom was colonel Monk, afterwards so famous.

In the west, the royal forces under Hopton had advanced as far as Arundel. Waller, who had about ten thousand men, was at Farnham, whence marching by night he surprised and cut to pieces a royal regiment at Alton, and then reduced Arundel (Jan. 6). The king having sent his general, the earl of Brentford, to reinforce Hopton, the

* See Appendix (H).

† Whitelock expresses himself in some places as if the troops that came over were native Irish, but this is quite incorrect; Mrs. Hutchinson (p. 201) is accurate in this point as usual.

two armies, about equal in number, engaged at Alresford (Mar. 29); the royalists were defeated with the loss of five hundred men, and Waller then took and plundered Winchester.

Newark-on-Trent, one of the strongest holds of the royalists, had been for some time besieged by the parliamentary forces. Prince Rupert, who was in Cheshire, having drawn together a good body of horse, prepared to relieve it. He marched with his usual rapidity, and came so unexpectedly on the besiegers (Mar. 22), that after a brief resistance they were glad to be allowed to depart, leaving their arms, ordnance, and ammunition.

The Scots were now in England. On the 19th of January, the earl of Leven had crossed the Tweed and advanced to attack the town of Newcastle; but the earl of Newcastle had thrown himself into it the day before, and Leven, ordering six regiments to block it up, proceeded southwards, followed by the royal army of fourteen thousand men. Leven took his post at Sunderland, where he remained for five weeks. Meantime lord Fairfax, being joined by his son sir Thomas, engaged (April 11) at Selby colonel Bellasis, who commanded the royalists in Yorkshire, and routed him; Newcastle, who was at Durham, immediately fell back to York, where he was besieged by the Scots and the troops of Fairfax, to whose aid, some time after (June 3), came the troops of the eastern counties (fourteen thousand in number) under lord Kimbolton, now earl of Manchester, and his lieutenant-general, Oliver Cromwell.

Essex and Waller were at this time both gradually approaching Oxford with the intention of confining the king's forces to that city. But one night (June 3) the king, to deceive Waller, having sent a body of foot out at the south gate as if for Abingdon, left the town by the north gate with two thousand five hundred foot and all his horse, and proceeded to Worcester, and thence to Bewdley. Waller, thinking it was his object to effect a junction with prince

Rupert, who was now at Liverpool, threw himself between him and Shrewsbury. Essex, as their plan had been defeated, marched away to the west; the king then made a rapid return to Oxford, and taking thence his artillery and the rest of his forces, advanced to give battle to Waller. The two armies came in sight near Banbury, the river Charwell dividing them. In the manœuvres to bring on an action, Waller perceiving (29th) the rear of the king's army to be separated from the main body, passed over Cropredy-bridge with a body of his troops to get between them, and at the same time sent a party of horse to cross a ford, about a mile lower down. He was however routed and driven back over the bridge with some loss by the earl of Cleveland, who commanded the king's rear-guard, and his army having gradually dwindled down to four thousand men, he was recalled by the parliament. There was a party among the officers of the royal army, headed by Wilmot, who for various reasons were anxious for peace; and they now renewed a project which they had devised before the king last left Oxford, which was for the royal forces to advance to St. Albans, and for the king to send thence a gracious message to the two houses and the city. But Charles had the utmost aversion to any measure of the kind, and he determined to follow Essex to the west, where the queen was residing at Exeter, having just been delivered of a daughter in that town.

York meantime was hard pressed: Newcastle had sent to the king to say, that if not relieved he must surrender, and Charles had written (June 14) to Rupert, directing him to lay every other project aside and think only on the relief of York. The active prince made no delay, and on the last day of June he appeared within view of that city, at the head of twenty thousand men. Next day the allied army drew up to receive him on Hessey-moor, about five miles from the town; Rupert however passed the Ouse and entered the city. Newcastle wished him to be content with having raised the siege, intimating that there

were differences between the English and Scottish commanders, which might ripen into discord. But Rupert, beside his own inclination to it, had positive orders from the king to fight*. Accordingly next day (July 2) the royal army pursued the enemy, who were retiring to Tadcaster, and came up with them on a moor named Marston-moor. The numbers were about equal, twenty-five thousand on each side: the right wing of the royalists was commanded by Newcastle, the left by Rupert, the centre by Goring, Lucas, and Porter; on the other side, sir Thomas Fairfax commanded on the right, Cromwell on the left, the centre was under lord Fairfax and the earls of Manchester and Leven.

At five in the evening both sides stood ready to engage, but the action did not commence till seven†. The prince with his usual impetuosity charged the enemy's right wing and drove them off the field; the royal centre was equally successful, and Leven and his Scots fled to a considerable distance; but Cromwell was victorious on the left; and sir Thomas Fairfax having rallied his own regiment, he and Cromwell fell on the troops of Rupert and Goring, and night closed on a decisive victory on the side of the parliamentarians. The number of the slain was said to be upwards of four thousand, of whom the far greater portion were royalists; fifteen hundred were made prisoners; all the ordnance, ammunition, and baggage were taken‡.

* See the king's letter in Evelyn's Memoirs, Appendix 88.

† The following curious fact shows how much less than one might suppose the Civil War interfered with the ordinary pursuits and amusements of the nation. A country squire of that neighbourhood was out with his hounds on the very day of the battle of Marston-moor. D'Israeli, v. 49.

‡ The queen, who had lain-in on the 16th of June, sent about the end of the month to Essex for a safe conduct to go to Bath for her health. He replied that he could not without the direction of parliament, but that he would not only give her a safe conduct, but accompany her himself to London—where she was impeached! "It is painful," says Godwin, "to see the effect of civil broils as displayed in such instances as this; and we cannot but wonder at this style of reply from a commander so noted for good-breeding and a generous disposition as Essex, in which the brutality of the thought is only exceeded by the ironical language in which it was conveyed."

Next day Rupert retired to the western counties, and Newcastle in disgust or despair departed with the lords Widdrington and Falconberg, and retired to the continent, where he remained for sixteen years. York surrendered; the victorious armies separated; the Scots moved toward their own country, and closed the campaign by the storm of Newcastle.

The royal cause was now hopeless in the north, but fortune proved more propitious in the west. Prince Maurice having retired on the approach of Essex, Weymouth surrendered to him; but as he was in pursuit of the prince, he got tidings of the defeat of Waller and the approach of the king. His first thought was to give the royal army battle at once, but lord Roberts, who had large estates in Cornwall, prevailed on him to enter that county, where he assured him of every advantage. Essex therefore crossed the Tamar about the middle of July, and marched by Liskeard and Bodmin to Lostwithiel, followed by the royal army. Charles, thinking this a good time for negotiation, wrote (Aug. 6) with his own hand a letter to Essex, proposing that the two armies should join and oblige the enemies of peace to submit to terms. Another letter came to Essex (9th) from the principal officers in the royal army to the same effect. His reply was, that he was trusted to fight, not to treat, and that the best advice he could give the king was to go to his parliament. Charles then directed all his forces to draw closer, and thus surround Essex's army and cut off their supplies. By the end of the month, therefore, Essex found his condition desperate; his cavalry under sir William Balfour having taken advantage of the darkness of the night (30th) to pass between two of the divisions of the royal army and get off, he himself and some of his chief officers went in a boat to Plymouth, leaving the infantry and some horse under Skippon. This brave officer proposed to them to follow the example of the cavalry and force their way, but the attempt appeared too hazardous, and (Sept. 2) a surrender was proposed and accepted. The arms, ord-

nance, and ammunition were given up, and the men were conveyed to Poole and Wareham.

Essex proceeded to Portsmouth, where his army was re-assembled; Waller and Manchester were directed to join, and the combined army was ordered to give battle to the king on his return from Cornwall. On a Sunday (Oct. 27) they attacked him at Newbury; the action commenced at three in the afternoon and lasted till ten at night*. Essex was absent from indisposition. Though the king's forces were inferior in number, the result was dubious, and they marched that night by moonlight in view of the enemy to Wallingford. A few days after (Nov. 9) the king being joined by Rupert, returned for his artillery and ammunition, which he had left at Donnington castle, and carried them away without opposition. The parliamentarians kept within their lines, and refused battle when offered. This event terminated the campaign.

* Charles actually ran away during the battle. See Clarendon, iv. 587, and Warburton's note.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED).

1644—1647.

Self-denying ordinance and New Model.—Trial and execution of Laud.—Religious parties.—Treaty at Uxbridge.—Victories of Montrose.—Battle of Naseby.—Progress and defeat of Montrose.—Glamorgan's mission.—Charles's flight to the Scots;—negotiations;—surrender of him to the parliament.—End of the war.

THE late successes of the king were attributed to the want of harmony among the parliamentary generals. Waller had been from the first a rival of Essex, and Manchester and Cromwell, his second in command, had opposite views and feelings. The religious differences of presbyterian and independent had now extended to the army also; Cromwell was at the head of the latter party, Manchester and Waller belonged to the former, while Essex preferred the episcopalian church. Further, both he and Manchester wished to preserve the constitution in the state, while Cromwell desired a republic. It was therefore suspected, and not without reason, that neither of these noblemen was inclined to weaken the king too much.

The affair of Donnington castle brought the parties who had been for some time menacing each other to issue. Cromwell, when called on in the house of commons to state what he knew of it, accused Manchester of an averseness to ending the war by the sword, and of thinking that the king was now low enough for a peace to be made. Next day Manchester took notice of this in the lords, and at his desire a day being fixed for the purpose, he gave *his* account of the Donnington affair, laying the chief blame on Cromwell. He also stated some speeches of Cromwell,

proving him to be hostile to the peerage, and to the amity between England and Scotland; such as his saying that it would never be well with England till the earl of Manchester were plain Mr. Montague, that the Scots had crossed the Tweed only to establish presbytery, and that in that cause he would as soon fight against them as the king. He added, that it was Cromwell's design to form an army of sectaries who might dictate to both king and parliament.

The commons appointed a committee to inquire if this accusation of one of their members in the other house were not a breach of privilege. Meantime some of the presbyterian party and the Scottish commissioners met at Essex-house, and sending for the two lawyers Whitelock and Maynard, took their opinion on the subject of accusing Cromwell as an incendiary between the two nations. The lawyers, however, being of opinion that the evidence was not sufficient, the plan was abandoned.

On the 9th of December the commons resolved themselves into a committee to consider the condition of the kingdom with regard to the war. After a long silence Cromwell rose and recommended that instead of an inquiry they should devise some general remedy of the evils. The next speaker said that the fault lay in the commands being divided. A third proposed that no member of either house should hold any civil or military command during the war. This was supported by Vane and opposed by Whitelock, Hollis, and others. An ordinance to this effect, however, passed the commons (21st), a vain attempt having been made to have the earl of Essex excepted. In the lords it met with much opposition; for, as they justly objected, it would exclude their entire order from all offices of trust and honour. They accordingly rejected it (Jan. 13, 1645).

Another project which was going on at the same time, was the 'new model' of the army. On the 21st the names of the principal officers of it were put to the vote in the commons. Sir Thomas Fairfax was named commander-

in-chief, Skippon major-general ; twenty-four colonels were appointed, but nothing was said as to the post of lieutenant-general. The lords passed the ordinance for the new model (Feb. 15); and an ordinance similar to the one they had rejected, but only requiring members to lay down the offices which they held, and being silent as to their re-appointment, was sent up to them. This 'self-denying ordinance' was passed on the 3rd of April, Essex, Manchester and Denbigh having laid down their commands the day before.

At this time the trial of archbishop Laud, which had been going on for nearly a year, was brought to its close. In twenty-four articles of impeachment the commons accused him of attempting to subvert the rights of parliament and laws of the realm, and to introduce arbitrary power, and also "to alter and subvert God's true religion by law established in this realm, and instead thereof to set up popish superstition and idolatry, and to reconcile us to the church of Rome." The trial commenced on the 12th of March, 1644; the managers on the part of the commons were serjeant Wild, and Messrs. Maynard, Brown, Nicholas, and Hill. The primate's inveterate foe, Prynne, was their solicitor, and he certainly showed none of the magnanimity of a generous enemy. He seized all the papers of the accused, even his diary and his written defence; he hunted out witnesses in all quarters, and if Laud was not misinformed, he drilled them in the parts which they were to enact.

The archbishop, though refused the aid of counsel, defended himself with spirit and ability. He either justified what he was charged with doing or impeached the character of the witnesses, or in case of there being but one to any fact, denied the legality of his evidence, the law, in cases of treason, requiring two witnesses. When charged with any of the acts of the council, the star-chamber, or the high commission, his defence was that he was only one of many, and that the act of the majority was ascribed to the whole. Prynne himself allows that "he made as full, as

gallant and pithy a defence, and spoke as much for himself as was possible for the wit of man to invent." During twenty-one days in the space of six months the trial proceeded with the advantage evidently on the side of the prisoner, and when (Oct. 11) Mr. Hearne his counsel was allowed to speak to the question of whether the matters charged against him amounted to treason according to the known laws of the land, the lords were staggered, and the reply of the managers failed to satisfy them. The party in the commons however, who sought the primate's blood, were resolved not to be balked; the old tactics were repeated, a petition of the citizens numerously signed was presented (28th) by a great number of people praying for speedy justice against delinquents, and particularly against the archbishop. Forthwith a bill of attainder was introduced; when it had been twice read, the archbishop was brought to the bar of the house of commons to hear the evidence, and nine days were given him to prepare his defence. The very day of his defence (Nov. 11) the bill was passed with but one dissentient voice. The lords pronounced him guilty of certain acts, but left it to the judges to determine their quality. Their reply was, that by the statute-law they did not amount to treason, but that the house alone was judge of the law of parliament. On Christmas-day, which was now a day of "fasting and public humiliation," the pulpits were set at work, and next morning a committee was appointed to confer with the lords; and on the 4th of January the archbishop was pronounced guilty of treason by a majority consisting it is said of only six members. The only favour the prelate could obtain was to have his sentence changed from hanging to beheading. On the 10th the primate, now in the 72nd year of his age, appeared on the scaffold on Tower-hill with a serene and cheerful air, Taking Heb. xii. 2. for his text, he made a speech in form of a sermon to the people, explaining and justifying his conduct. It was noted, that the sun, which had hitherto been hidden, shone

out and irradiated his calm and serene countenance as he spoke, and that it disappeared for the rest of the day, when his head had been stricken off. Laud died with all the constancy of a martyr.

The primate was a narrow-minded, superstitious, hot and intemperate man—a pigmy Gregory VII. Of his sincerity we think there can be little doubt, but his measures were childish and mischievous, and he may justly be regarded as one of the principal causes of the evils with which the kingdom was then afflicted. Still his execution was a piece of gratuitous malignity, for he now was utterly powerless, and he had not offended against the known laws of the land. It is gratifying to add, that no respectable advocate of the Long Parliament attempts to justify this piece of wanton barbarity*.

Exactly a week before they shed the blood of the primate (Jan. 3) the parliament had by an ordinance abolished the liturgy of the church and set in its place a “Directory for Public Worship,” drawn up by the Assembly of Divines and approved of by the general assembly of Scotland. Of the Assembly of Divines we will now give some account.

By an ordinance of the 12th of June, 1643, when they were looking for aid from the Scots, the parliament nominated one hundred and twenty-one divines, who with ten peers and twenty commoners, and three of the Scottish commissioners, were to examine the liturgy, discipline and government of the church of England, and give their opinions thereon to one or both houses. The object of the parliament is there declared to be the abolition of the present mode of church-government and the formation of one of “nearer agreement with the church of Scotland and

* “It was done,” says Hobbes, “for the entertainment of the Scots.” What Ludlow says (i. 72) is to the same effect. “Pour donner *carré* aux Ecossois,” are the words of Sabran the French resident. About this time also the parliament executed the two Hothams (Jan. 1 and 2), sir Alexander Carew (Dec. 23), who had engaged to surrender Plymouth to the king, and the Irish rebels Macmahon (Nov. 22) and Macguire (Feb. 20).

other reformed churches abroad," that is the establishment of presbytery. Among those nominated were some prelates and other episcopalians, but they never gave attendance. There were about half a dozen members of the party named Independents in the assembly, and among the lay-assessors a few Erastians. These terms require to be explained.

The presbyterian system, which is that of the church of Scotland, is based on the principle of a parity in rank among its ministers and a participation of the laity in the government of the church. It rejects all peculiar habits for the clergy and has no liturgy. It gives the power of the keys, that is of excommunication, censure, etc., to its synods and assemblies, and it has always aimed at a clerical despotism similar to that of Rome. At this time the presbyterians were the determined enemies of toleration. *They* could not be wrong, and it were sinful to rend the seamless coat of Jesus by permitting error to prevail. They formed the great majority in the parliament, the assembly, and the city.

The Independents were few in number in the assembly, but they excelled in energy and skill in debate. They held that every congregation of Christians should be *independent* of all others, but with an entire power over its own members. They were therefore the strenuous advocates of toleration, and all the minor sects, such as the Anabaptists, the Antinomians, etc., gladly sheltered themselves under their shadow. Their leading divines were Nye, Goodwin and Burgess. The lords Say and Wharton, and sir Henry Vane and Oliver Cromwell, were of their party in the parliament.

While the church of Rome claimed the universal power of the keys, the church of England and the Presbyterians demanded it over the whole national church, and the Independents required it for every particular congregation, a small party, named Erastians from Erastus, a German divine of the sixteenth century, denied this power alto-

gether. They held that the pastoral office was only persuasive, that all the ordinances of religion were to be free and open to all; the minister might dissuade the openly vicious from coming to the Lord's-supper, for example, and warn them of their danger, but he might not refuse it. To the state alone they said belonged the punishment of all offences. The advocates of this system in the assembly were Lightfoot, Selden and Whitelock, and St. John and other eminent men upheld it in the parliament.

The Scots, after their usual manner, took advantage of their present position to dictate, and they would fain have forced on the English nation their own system of presbytery, pure and unaltered; but the spirit of the English revolted at this, and some modifications were made. The Liturgy was ordered to be laid aside, and a Directory for Public Worship, as we have seen, was substituted for it. It being found however that many parishes persisted in using the Book of Common Prayer, an ordinance was passed (Aug. 23, 1645) imposing a fine of 5*l.* for the first offence, 10*l.* for the second, and a year's imprisonment for the third, on any one who in a church, chapel, or even private family, should use the prayer-book, and all prayer-books remaining in churches and chapels were ordered to be given up to the committees of counties. Such were the tolerant principles of these abhorers of the despotism of Laud.

The parliament also appointed a committee for scandalous ministers, with subordinate committees in the several counties. These were empowered to inquire into the lives and doctrine of the clergy, and to eject from their livings such as were proved guilty of immorality, of false doctrine, *i. e.* Arminianism and such like, or what perhaps was a greater offence in the eyes of their judges, malignancy or attachment to the cause of the king; those who should refuse to take the covenant were also to be deprived. The number of the ejected clergy was nearly two thousand; the greater part however we are assured were put out for im-

morality, in whose places were substituted men recommended by the parishes and approved of by the assembly of divines. A fifth of the income was appropriated to the support of the families of the ejected ministers. The University of Cambridge was also visited by the earl of Manchester, and more than one half of the heads and fellows of colleges were expelled for malignancy, and others put in their places.

Meanwhile negotiations for peace had been going on. The king having sent two messages proposing a treaty, the parliament appointed commissioners to repair to Oxford (Nov. 20), but only as bearers of propositions. After a stay of a few days they returned (29th) with the king's reply. This was a demand of a safe conduct for the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton to come with his answer to their propositions. After some debate this was agreed to; the two noblemen came, and after the usual delays it was arranged that commissioners from both sides should meet at Uxbridge, and during a space of twenty days discuss the principal subjects of dispute, namely, religion, the militia, and Ireland, each to be debated for three days in rotation.

On the 30th of January the commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge. The royalists were sixteen in number, those of the parliament twelve, together with four Scottish commissioners; both parties were attended by their divines. After the preliminaries had been arranged, they commenced with the subject of religion. The parliament insisted on the unqualified abolition of episcopacy and the establishment of presbytery: the king would not abandon the former, which he regarded as of divine institution; but he was willing to limit it, to reform abuses in it, and to grant indulgence to tender consciences in matters of ceremonies. This subject having been debated for three days to no purpose, they next passed to the militia. The parliament demanded that it should be entirely vested in them and in persons in whom they could confide. They relaxed

so far as to demand it only for seven years, after which it should be settled by bill or agreement between the king and parliament. The king was willing to surrender it for three years, provided it then returned fully to the crown. With respect to Ireland, the parliament required the cessation to be declared null and void, and the conduct of the war and government of that country to be committed to them; the royal commissioners justified the king in making the cessation, and asserted that he was in honour bound to maintain it. These matters were debated over and over till the 22nd of February, when the parliament having refused to prolong the treaty, the commissioners returned to Westminster and Oxford, and preparations were made for another appeal to the sword.

This treaty, the inutility of which must have been apparent, had been entered into solely in compliance with the wishes of those on both sides who were weary of the evils of war and sincerely desirous of peace. Among these the king himself cannot be included, for he was determined to concede none of the points at issue, and his usual duplicity was displayed even in the commencement; for when he had been induced to style in his answer the two houses the parliament of England, he writes to the queen, "If there had been but two beside myself of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament," and he adds that it is so registered in the council book. He was besides negotiating for foreign aid, and treating for a peace and an army with the Irish rebels; and he was so much elated by exaggerated accounts of the successes of Montrose in Scotland, that he was in full expectation of being shortly able to resume the plenitude of his despotism.

Their adoption of the covenant and presbytery to gratify their selfish and self-sufficient allies, made accommodation more difficult on the side of the parliament, as they could not now recede, and every person of candour must, we

think, allow that they could not with safety resign the power of the sword to their unforgiving sovereign. "He who was reasonable among them (the commissioners)," says Clarendon, "thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary security, and believed it could proceed from nothing else but a resolution to take the highest vengeance upon their rebellion"—an inference, the truth of which he does not deny. In effect, when the situations and tempers of the parties are considered, it is manifest that there was no room for accommodation, that one or other must be subdued, and despotism of one kind or other be the result.

In the summer of the preceding year, the earls of Montrose and Antrim* had come to Oxford with tenders of their services to the crown. They were both inveterate enemies of Argyle, who had now the chief power in Scotland, and Montrose asserted that if Antrim could raise fifteen hundred or two thousand men in Ireland and land them in the Highlands, he himself would be able to join them with so many of the Highland clansmen, loyal to the king and enemies of Argyle, as would make such a diversion, as would, if not recover the kingdom, at least oblige the Scottish army in England to return to its defence. The king listened to the proposal, and gave them the necessary commissions. Antrim forthwith passed over to Ireland, and raising about eighteen hundred men among his clan there, sent them over under his kinsman sir Alister M'Donnel named Colkitto. Montrose having left Oxford with a good company, suddenly disappeared, and with only two attendants eluded the vigilance of both nations till he reached the foot of the Grampians, where he remained concealed till he heard of the landing of the Irish. He directed them to join him in Athol, where at their head he

* Randal M'Donnel earl of Antrim, an Irish catholic nobleman, had married the widow of Buckingham, who was the daughter and heiress of the earl of Rutland. Her wealth gave him consideration; but Clarendon describes him as a vain weak man.

unfurled the royal standard, and summoned the clans to arms. They responded to his call; he poured down on the Lowlands; at Tippermuir (Sept. 1) he defeated the lord Elcho, and then entered and plundered the town of Perth. He then moved northwards; the bridge of Dee was defended by lord Burley, but his men fled at the first shock, and the ferocious followers of Montrose entered Aberdeen pell-mell with them. The town was given up to pillage and massacre for four days. The Irish, we are told, displayed a thriftiness in their barbarity such as one might rather have looked for in the Scots, for they stripped their victims naked before they murdered them, lest their clothes should be spoilt.

The approach of Argyle with a superior force obliged Montrose to quit Aberdeen on the fifth day. He moved toward the Spey, and finding its opposite bank guarded, he buried his ordnance in a morass, and went up the stream till he reached the forests of Strathspey and the mountains of Badenoch. He then descended into Athol and Angus, still followed by Argyle, and suddenly crossing the Grampians, again moved northwards in hopes of rousing the Gordons to arms. At Fyvie castle he was nearly surrounded, but after sustaining the repeated attacks of a superior force, he retired by night, and effected his retreat to Badenoch. Argyle, wearied out, as it was now far in the winter, returned to his castle of Inverary, where he deemed himself in perfect security. But the energetic and vindictive Montrose amidst the snows of December (13th), penetrated by passes only trodden by the herdsmen in summer into Argyleshire. The savage Irish, and no less savage clansmen, let all their fury loose on the devoted district; the inhabitants were massacred, the cattle driven off or destroyed, the houses and corn burnt. Argyle himself only escaped by putting to sea in an open boat. After seven weeks spent in the work of devastation, Montrose moved toward Inverness. Argyle, who had rallied the scattered Campbells, was now with three thousand men at Inverlochy,

at the western extremity of the chain of Highland lakes. By a secret and circuitous route, Montrose returned and fell on his vanguard by night. The moon giving her light, the troops skirmished till day. In the morning (Feb. 2) the fight began : Argyle, in whose character there was little of chivalry, viewed from a boat in the lake the noble but unavailing struggles of his gallant Campbells, and the slaughter of one half of their number. Montrose, elate with his victory, wrote to the king promising soon to come to his aid with a gallant army ; and this letter arriving during the treaty of Uxbridge, aided to prevent the sanguine monarch from complying with terms on which peace might have been effected. Montrose returned to the north ; the Grants and Gordons joined him ; he spread his ravages as before ; Dundee was stormed and partly burnt (Apr. 4). But the approach of a superior force under Baillie and that soldier of fortune Hurry, now again against the king, obliged him to return to the mountains with some loss. Baillie then entered Athol, while Hurry moved northwards after Montrose, to whom he gave battle at Aldean, near Nairn, and was defeated with the loss of two thousand men. Baillie himself was soon after overthrown at Alford on the Don.

The English parliament had now completed their New Model. It consisted of six thousand horse divided into ten regiments, one thousand dragoons, and fourteen thousand foot in twelve regiments of ten companies each. These regiments were composed of men from the old armies, chiefly those of a religious cast and inclined to the party of the Independents. A more rigorous discipline was introduced than had hitherto prevailed, and thus was formed that noble army, which, actuated by a higher principle than the mere love of pay and plunder, never encountered a defeat, and has left its memory a subject of admiration to posterity.

The king had given the nominal command of his forces to the prince of Wales, but the real power to prince Rupert

as his lieutenant. He had also sent the prince to Bristol, ostensibly to command in the west, but really because, as he himself used to express it, "he and his son were too great a prize to be ventured in one bottom." Goring and Greenvil had separate commands in the west, and the license in which these profligate commanders indulged their men, and the atrocities committed by them, gave origin to a defensive association among the country-people in the counties of Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, and a similar association appeared in Gloucester and Worcester. The object of these people, who were named, from their principal weapon, Clubmen, was to preserve their property from the hands of both parties; and as the royalists were the greater plunderers, their hostility was chiefly directed against them. Many of the loyal gentry however countenanced them, in hopes of being able hereafter to render them serviceable to the royal cause*.

About a third of the kingdom still obeyed the king; his army was more numerous than the New Model, but it was scattered and divided; its officers were at discord, and the men demoralised. He was, however, the first to take the field, and leaving Oxford (May 7) at the head of ten thousand men, of whom more than one half were cavalry, he proceeded to raise the siege of Chester. The enemy retired at the rumour of his approach. He then advanced against the town of Leicester, which was taken by storm and plundered. Fairfax, who had been on his way to the relief of Taunton, which was hard pressed by the royalists under Greenvil, was ordered to return, and being baffled in his expectations of gaining Oxford by means of a party within the walls, he proceeded in pursuit of the king. Near the village of Naseby, between Daventry and Harborough, his van overtook the rear of the royalists (June 13), and next morning the two armies stood prepared for action, the advantage in numbers being on the side of Fairfax. Sir Jacob (now lord) Astley commanded the

* See Clarendon, v. 197.

royalist infantry in the centre, prince Rupert the horse on the right wing, sir Marmaduke Langdale that on the left wing. In the other army Fairfax himself led the centre, Cromwell* the right, and Ireton the left wing. Rupert, with his usual impetuosity, bore down all before him; Ireton was wounded, and for some time a prisoner; but Rupert never knew when to stop, and instead of returning to support his friends, he wasted his time in summoning the enemy's artillery. Cromwell, who had been equally successful on his side, knew better how to use his victory: leaving four squadrons to watch the fugitives, he fell on the rear of the royal centre, who had hitherto maintained the fight with advantage against those opposed to them. Dismayed at finding themselves assailed in front and rear, they threw down their arms and sued for quarter. One regiment, however, though twice charged, remained unbroken. Fairfax then making Doyley, the captain of his guard, attack it in front, while himself took it in the rear, it at length was broken; Fairfax with his own hand killed the ensign, and seized the colours. When the soldier to whose charge he committed them boasted of the deed as his own, Fairfax said, "Let him retain that honour; I have to-day acquired enough beside." The king showed equal heroism; when he saw his infantry broken, he cried to his guard and to such of the horse as had gathered about him, "One charge more, and we recover the day!" but they had no heart to renew the combat, and he was obliged to quit the field. The victory of the parliament-army was complete. They took four thousand five hundred prisoners, and all the artillery and ammunition. It is remarkable, that in this decisive defeat the slain on the side of the royalists did not exceed three or four hundred men†.

Among the spoils at Naseby was the king's cabinet, containing his correspondence with the queen, and other

* Accident or design had continued to exempt Cromwell from the operation of the self-denying ordinance introduced by myself. Dr. Lingard is decidedly of opinion that Cromwell had no hope or design of being exempted from its operation.

† Ludlow, i. 132. May's Breviary in Maseres' Select Tracts, p. 77.

important documents. A selection of these was made by the parliament, and published with remarks, under the title of 'The King's Cabinet Unclosed.' Charles himself acknowledged that the collection was genuine, but complained that some papers were kept back which would have explained dubious passages. The royalists censured this act as base and barbarous; but it was hardly to be expected that men would forego so fair an occasion of vindicating themselves in the eyes of the world as these letters presented*.

They proved, in fact, but too well the king's insincerity in the late treaty. Thus he writes to the queen (Jan. 2): "As to my calling those at London a parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction: this in general. If there had been but two, besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did noways acknowledge them to be a parliament, upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherways; and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation." Again he says (Jan 9), "The settlement of religion and the militia are the first to be treated on; and be confident, that I will neither quit episcopacy nor that sword which God hath given into my hands." On the 15th of February he writes, "Thou needest not doubt the issue of this treaty, for my commissioners are so well chosen, though I say it, that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, which, upon my word, is according to the little note thou so well remembers"; and, "Be confident, that in making peace, I shall ever show my constancy in adhering to bishops and all our friends†, and not forget to put a

* Hume notices the honourable conduct of the Athenians in not opening a letter from Philip of Macedonia to his wife; but they had nothing to learn from it: had a private letter from the king to the queen of Spain fallen into the hands of the English at any time, they would probably have sent it unopened. Lingard's remarks on this subject are candid. See Hallam, ii. 259.

† The queen had written (Dec. 16), "that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need"; and, "for if you

short period to this perpetual parliament." After the breaking off of the treaty, he writes (Mar. 13), somewhat elated at getting rid of his Oxford parliament. "And now," says he, "if I do anything unhandsome or disadvantageous to myself or friends, it will be merely my own fault." He then notices his fears that he should have been pressed "to make some overtures to renew the treaty," but now, if renewed, it shall be to his honour and advantage; "I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say, our mongrel parliament here), as of the chief causers." These were Wilmot, Sussex, and Percy, whom he had sent away to the queen in France, which he thought "would rather prove a change than an end of their villanies"; i. e. their desire for peace.

A frequent topic in these letters is a treaty with the duke of Lorraine for his army of ten thousand men, to aid the royal cause in England. Charles also writes to the queen (Mar. 5), "I give thee power to promise in my name, to whom thou thinkest most fit, that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman catholics in England as soon as God shall enable me to do it, so as by their means or in their favours I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it." Sir Kenelm Digby was at this time going to Rome to solicit aid from the pope, and the king had written to Ormond (Feb. 27), commanding him "to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost; so that my protestant subjects there may be secured, and my regal authority there be preserved"; he had even sent Glamorgan on his secret mission to Ireland. In short, Charles' maxim for regaining his despotism seems to have been the usual one of *Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo*.

do agree upon strictness against the catholics, it would discourage them to serve you; and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours from Ireland or any other catholic princes, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served yourself"; and (Jan. 17), "above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the bishops as the poor catholics."

We now return to our narrative. After the fatal rout at Naseby the king directed his steps to Leicester, whence he retired to Hereford. He then enjoyed for some days the festivities of Ragland castle, the seat of the venerable marquess of Worcester, and thence proceeded to Cardiff. In a letter which he wrote from this place to prince Rupert, who now commanded at Bristol, and who joined in the common desire for peace, we may discern the still unbending character of this "incomparable king," as Clarendon styles him. "Speaking either," says he, "as to mere soldiers or statesmen, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin; but as to Christians, I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or his cause to be overthrown." His only hopes for himself were to end his days with honour and a good conscience; his friends, if they stayed with him, must expect to die or to live miserably; yet he will not "go less" than what he offered at Uxbridge, though he confesses it would be as great a miracle if they consented to it, as if in a month hence he should be as he was just before the battle of Naseby.

Each day brought tidings of losses. Leicester had surrendered when Fairfax appeared. He then marched to the relief of Taunton, whence Goring retired at his approach; but Fairfax brought him to action at Lamport in Somerset (July 10), and defeated him. Bridgewater, deemed impregnable, surrendered (23d). Bath and Sherborne submitted. In the north, Scarborough, Pomfret, and Carlisle had yielded; and the Scots, who had been engaged in the siege of this last, came and sat down before Hereford. The king, quitting Wales, hastened to Newark, and finding that the Scottish horse were in pursuit of him, he burst into and ravaged the eastern counties, and at length (Aug. 28) reached Oxford in safety. Here he was cheered with intelligence of another victory gained by Montrose. This indefatigable chief, having again issued from the mountains with a force of six thousand men, spread devastation over the country to the Forth. Baillie was advantageously

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A frequent topic in these letters is a treaty with the duke of Lorraine for his army of ten thousand men, to aid the royal cause in England. Charles also writes to the queen (Mar. 5), "I give thee power to promise in my name, to whom thou thinkest most fit, that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman catholics in England as soon as God shall enable me to do it, so as by their means or in their favours I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it." Sir Kenelm Digby was at this time going to Rome to solicit aid from the pope, and the king had written to Ormond (Feb. 27), commanding him "to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost; so that my protestant subjects there may be secured, and my regal authority there be preserved"; he had even sent Glamorgan on his secret mission to Ireland. In short, Charles' maxim for regaining his despotism seems to have been the usual one of *Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo*.

do agree upon strictness against the catholics, it would discourage them to serve you; and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours from Ireland or any other catholic princes, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served yourself"; and (Jan. 17), "above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the bishops as the poor catholics."

end; his highland followers had, after their usual manner, quitted him to go home to secure their plunder; and having stationed himself with the remainder at Philip-haugh, near Selkirk, in Ettrick forest, he was suddenly fallen on by Lesley, and after doing all that was in man to avert defeat, he was totally routed, and forced to fly once more to the mountains. Digby and Langdale, who were coming to join him with fifteen hundred English horse, after routing a party of the enemy at Doncaster, and being themselves defeated by colonel Copley at Sherborne, reached Dumfries; but getting no account of Montrose, they disbanded their men and passed over to the Isle of Man, whence Digby proceeded to Dublin.

The negotiation with the duke of Lorraine was now at an end, and the king's only hopes lay in Ireland, where he had been carrying on a mysterious treaty with the insurgents. His wish had been to convert the cessation into a permanent peace; but the bigotry of the native Irish, headed by their clergy, would be content with nothing short of the establishment of their religion. To this Ormond, as a protestant, neither could nor would consent; Charles then looked out for another agent, and such he found in lord Herbert, eldest son of the marquess of Worcester, a catholic, his personal friend, and romantically and devotedly loyal. Herbert, now created earl of Glamorgan, received in the month of January (1645) various instructions and commissions to treat with the Irish confederates, the king pledging himself to make good whatever he should conclude. They were sealed with the private signet and blanks left for the names of the pope and other princes, which he was to insert himself, "to the end," said Glamorgan, "the king might have a starting-hole to deny the having given me such commissions, if excepted against by his own subjects; leaving me, as it were, at stake, who for his majesty's sake, was willing to undergo it, trusting to his word alone."

Thus furnished, Glamorgan proceeded to Ireland (Apr. 30), where Rinuccini, a papal nuncio, was now expected

to whom, as well as to the pope, he had letters from the king. Having communicated his instructions to a certain extent to Ormond, negotiations were entered into with the supreme council of the Irish at Kilkenny, to which town Glamorgan proceeded; and he there (Aug. 25) concluded a secret treaty, by which the catholics were to enjoy the public exercise of their religion, and all the churches and their revenues which were not actually in the possession of the protestant clergy; they in return, were to supply the king with a body of ten thousand armed men, and to devote two-thirds of the church revenues to his service, during the war. A public treaty was, meantime, going on with Ormond, who scrupled on the subject of religion. But while he hesitated, the parliament got hold of the secret treaty; for the titular archbishop of Tuam, a martial prelate, happening to be killed in a skirmish between the Scots and Irish (Oct. 17), copies of all the documents were found in his carriage, and transmitted to London. When Ormond got information of this, which was not till Christmas, he called a council, and it was determined, at the suggestion of Digby, to arrest Glamorgan for high-treason; and Digby wrote in very strong and indignant terms to the king. Charles, in a message to the parliament (Jan. 29, 1646), solemnly disavowed Glamorgan's proceedings, averring that he had only given him a commission to raise soldiers. To Ormond, who had Glamorgan's warrant now in his hands, the king wrote evasively, asserting that he had no recollection of it, and that if he did give such a warrant, it was with an understanding that it was not to be employed without the lord-lieutenant's approbation. Glamorgan, of whose innocence there could be no doubt, was not long a prisoner. He hastened to Kilkenny to resume the treaty (Jan. 22), and obtained an immediate aid of six thousand men; but while he was waiting for transports to carry them to the relief of Chester, he learned the fall of that city, and the total ruin of the royal cause in England.

He therefore disbanded his army, but still remained in Ireland*.

After the surrender of Bristol the whole south and west of England were speedily reduced. While Fairfax was employed in the western counties Cromwell took Winchester (Oct. 5) and Basing-house, the fortified mansion of the marquess of Winchester (14th); and in the north, Latham-house, which the intrepid countess of Derby† had defended for two years, lord Scroop's castle of Bolton, and other places surrendered. The new year opened with the taking of Dartmouth by Fairfax (Jan. 18), who then resumed the siege of Exeter. At Torrington (Feb. 16) he totally routed lord Hopton and his Cornish troops. He followed him into Cornwall, where the people submitted at his approach, and by a treaty (Mar. 14) Hopton disbanded his army, and surrendered all his arms, stores, and ammunition. The prince of Wales had gone to Scilly, whence he soon after passed over to Jersey, and finally joined his mother at Paris. Penryn and other places surrendered, and the lord-general came back to Exeter, which at length was yielded on articles (Apr. 13). The whole west being now reduced, Fairfax led his army back to Newbury.

Chester had surrendered early in February. Sir Jacob Astley, with a body of three thousand men whom he was leading to Oxford, was attacked (Mar. 22) and totally defeated at Stow in the Woalds, on the borders of Gloucestershire, by colonel Morgan and sir William Brereton. "Now you have done your work and may go play, unless you fall out among yourselves," said sir Jacob to those who had made him a prisoner.

The king's only hopes in fact lay in the divisions among his enemies; and had he known (which he never did know) how to act with judgement, he might have recovered a suf-

* See Appendix (I).

† This heroic lady was a Frenchwoman, a daughter of the noble house of La Tremouille.

ficient portion of his regal authority. The breach between the two religious parties was widening every day; the cordiality between the English parliament and their Scottish brethren was also on the wane. Charles intrigued with all these parties. "I am not without hope," he writes to Digby, "that I shall be able to draw either the presbyterians or independents to side with me for extirpating one the other that I should be really king again." He used Montreuil, the French envoy, as his agent in his dealings with the Scots. His great object was to get to London, where he had numerous adherents, and where the peace-party was now strong. For this purpose he was urgent for a personal treaty, but to this the parliament, suspecting his object, would only consent on condition of his giving a previous assent to bills which they were preparing; the three first of which were the same as those offered at Uxbridge. The commons even went so far as to pass a vote (Mar. 31.), that if the king came within their lines, the militia of London should apprehend those who came with him or resorted to him, and "secure his person from danger," *i. e.* confine him. They also ordered such as had borne arms against the parliament to quit London by the 6th of April.

The king's plan of playing the parties in parliament against one another was not a bad one if he had possessed skill to execute it. This will appear by the following view of that assembly.

Until the end of the year 1645 the constitutional party had the preponderance. As a proof may be cited their vote on the 1st of December, in a debate on the propositions for peace. It was as follows. That Fairfax should be made a baron and have 5000*l.* a year settled on him, and his father be made an earl: Cromwell, Waller, and Haselrig also to be barons, the two former with 2500*l.*, the last with 2000*l.* a year; Northumberland, Essex, Warwick, and Pembroke to be dukes, and Salisbury and Manchester marquesses; Say, Roberts, Wharton, Willoughby

of Parham, and Howard of Escrick to be earls; Hollis, a viscount, and Stapylton and sir Henry Vane senior barons. As these were nearly all presbyterians, this vote, though it speaks little for the disinterestedness of the parliament, proves the strength of that party and their attachment to the monarchic form of government. But when, in consequence of deaths and the secession or expulsion of the royalists, it was found that nearly two hundred seats were vacant, the presbyterians were obliged to give way and issue writs for new elections, and the house in the beginning of the following year presented an altered appearance. The royalists alone being excluded and the self-denying ordinance being now a dead letter, the officers of the army and others of the Independent party obtained seats; for, as Ludlow candidly confesses, "honest men (i. e. his own party) in all parts did what they could to promote the elections of such as were most hearty for the accomplishment of our deliverance," by which he means the establishment of a commonwealth. The parties now were more evenly balanced, though the preponderance was still on the presbyterian side, and the royal name and authority if judiciously managed would have sufficed to incline the beam.

To resume the narrative: the parliamentary troops began to close in Oxford, and the king must either resolve to sustain a siege and finally surrender himself a prisoner, or to fly from the town. He chose the latter, and on the night of the 27th of April he quitted Oxford, having cut his hair and beard, and riding with a portmanteau behind him as the servant of his faithful follower Ashburnham; one Dr. Hudson, a loyal military clergyman who knew the country well, being their guide. They took the road to London. They passed through Uxbridge and Brentford, and thence turned to Harrow-on-the-hill, where the king finally determined to give up all thoughts of London, and to follow his original design. He proceeded by St. Albans, and finding that his escape in the disguise of a

servant was known, he assumed that of a clergyman. At length (30th) he came to Downham in Norfolk, where he remained while Hudson went to Montreuil at Newark. Montreuil had been for some time negotiating on the part of the king with the leaders of the Scottish army. The affair is, like most Scottish transactions, involved in obscurity; but it would appear that the Scots had overreached the sanguine Frenchman, and led him to give the king hopes of what they never intended to perform. It was arranged that they should receive the monarch in their camp,—a measure from which they proposed to themselves many advantages; but at the same time they required it to be done in such a manner as not to implicate them with the English parliament. Their plan was to send a party of cavalry to Harborough, whither the king was to come, as it were, accidentally on his way to Scotland, and he was to command their attendance on him. This plan however had been given up, and Charles on arriving at that place had found none there to meet him. Montreuil, though he now distrusted the Scots, thought when Hudson came to him that the king's only chance was to put himself into their hands. Charles therefore came (May 5.) to Montreuil's abode at Southwell, and after dinner the envoy took him to Kelham, Leven's head-quarters. Leven raised his hands in real or affected surprise; he and his officers showed the monarch the most marked attention; he assigned him Kelham-house for his residence; but when Charles, to try if he was free, gave the word to the guard, Leven said, "I am the older soldier, sir; your majesty had better leave that office to me." They wrote off immediately to the parliament, saying that "they were astonished at the providence of the king's coming into their army, which was so private that it was long ere they could find him there," etc.; and the king having ordered Bel-lasis to surrender Newark to them, they set out (9th) on their march homewards, for the commons had voted that the king's person should be disposed of by both houses,

and that he should be sent to Warwick castle. Poyntz, with a body of five thousand horse, was ordered to watch the Scottish army; but their march was so rapid that on the 18th the houses had intelligence of their arrival at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Next day they voted that they "had no further need of the army of their brethren the Scots in this kingdom," and voted them 100,000*l.*; half to be paid when they gave up Newcastle, Carlisle, and other places held by them; the other half when they had entered Scotland.

At Newcastle the king was treated with suitable respect, but none of his friends were given access to him. As the establishment of presbytery was a *sine quâ non* with the bigoted Scots, he undertook, unaided as he was, to discuss the matter with their great champion Henderson, and candour must allow that the advantage was on the side of the king; for most certainly no universal form of church government is laid down in the New Testament, and if antiquity is to decide the matter the cause is won for episcopacy. The error of all sides at that time was supposing any form to be enjoined in Scripture. From the general insincerity of his character it was thought at the time that Charles was not in earnest in his maintenance of episcopacy, but his sincerity in this matter is now beyond question. He had consented to its abolition in Scotland, but it was with a secret design of restoring it when he should have the power. He had in a similar manner, as we have seen, agreed to the abolition of protestantism in Ireland; and as his attachment to the protestant faith cannot be questioned, we fear he meant to deceive the catholics also. Yet at this very time he wished to throw himself into their hands. In a letter to Glamorgan (July 20) he says, "Tell the nuncio, that if once I can come into *his and your hands*, which ought to be extremely wished for by you both, as well for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest as I see despise me, I will do it." He also, while at Newcastle, meditated an escape by sea, but whether he intended to go to France or Ireland is uncertain. At this

very time too, he was harassed by letters from the queen, Jermyn, Colepepper, and others, at Paris, and the foreign residents there, urging him to give up the church; the queen even threatening to go into a monastery if he refused. Yet he stood firm. In truth he saw that he should gain nothing by it, for nothing short of the militia would content the parliament, and this the queen and his other friends would not allow him to part with.

There were two points now under debate between the English and the Scots; the one the disposal of the royal person, the other the settlement of the arrears due to the Scottish army. The Scots declared (July 4) "that as they came into England out of affection, and not in a mercenary way, so they will be as willing to return home, and want of pay shall be no hindrance thereunto." In reply to this it was voted that the kingdom had no more need of them, and "is no longer able to bear them." The Scots (Aug. 12) then proposed to evacuate the kingdom, provided they were paid for their losses, etc.; it was voted (14th) to give them 100,000*l.* and to have their accounts audited. "The houses," says Whitelock, "now saw the advantage of keeping up their army, as that which the more inclined the Scots to come to this offer." The Scots (19th) stated their demands at 500,000*l.*, but agreed (Sept. 1) to take 400,000*l.*, which sum the parliament consented to give; and so far the transaction appears to have had no reference to the king.

In the end of August the parliament sent nineteen propositions to the king; they were in substance the same with the Uxbridge articles, but the militia, with power to employ it, was to remain with the parliament for twenty years. To these the king gave a positive refusal, veiled indeed under the demand of a personal treaty. The enemies of peace and royalty exulted, the moderate party were dejected at this event*. The arrangements having been

* When thanks were voted to the commissioners, one said more thanks were due to the king. "What will become of us," whispered a member,

effected respecting the Scottish arrears, it was voted (Sept. 18) that the king's person should be disposed of as the two houses should think fit, but that no dispute on this subject should interfere with the treaties or the return of the Scots army. The Scottish commissioners strongly asserted the right of their nation to a share in the disposal of the king. In November the Scottish parliament met: Hamilton, who was now at liberty, exerted himself strongly in favour of the king; all were of opinion that he should accept the propositions, but Charles was immovable on the subject of the church. A vote was notwithstanding obtained (Dec. 16) to maintain his personal freedom and right to the English throne. The general assembly, however, having declared it unlawful to support him while he refused to assent to the covenant, and the parliament, being aware of the madness of engaging in a war with England, and advised by Hollis and the leading presbyterians there that the surrender of the king was the only means of causing the independent army to be disbanded, who were the great enemies of the king and of peace; they accordingly gave him up to commissioners sent to receive him (Feb. 1, 1647). Charles gladly left the Scots*, and he was conducted to one of his mansions named Holdenby- or Holmby-house near Althorpe, in Northamptonshire.

Charles himself said that he "was bought and sold," and the charge of selling their king has been down to the

"since the king refuses the propositions?" "Nay, what would have become of us," replied an independent, "had he granted them?"

* Whitelock (Dec. 15, 1646) gives the following affecting notice: "A Scotch minister preached boldly before the king at Newcastle, and after his sermon called for the 52nd psalm, which begins

Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
Thy wicked works to praise?

His majesty thereupon stood up and called for the 56th psalm, which begins

Have mercy, Lord, on me I pray,
For men would me devour.

The people waved the minister's psalm and sung that which the king called for."

present day reiterated against the Scots*. There are no doubt many circumstances in the affair which have a suspicious appearance. It seems certain that they would not have gotten so large a sum from the parliament as they did if the person of the king had not been in their hands, and they probably took advantage of this circumstance to insist on their demands. But there are no sufficient grounds for charging them with inviting him to their camp with this design; they did not give him up till they had no choice but that or war; they acted under the advice of the friends of monarchy in the English parliament; they stipulated in the most express terms for the safety of his person; nay, to the very last, if he would have given them satisfaction on the subject of religion, they would have declined surrendering him. Like the monarch himself, they were unhappily situated; but we do not think that they can be justly charged with the guilt of having sold their king. Still every friend to Scotland must wish that the event had not occurred†.

The civil war, after a duration of nearly four years, was now at an end. Oxford, Worcester, and other places had surrendered; the old marquess of Worcester defended Ragland castle against Fairfax and five thousand men, but he was obliged at last to open his gates (Aug. 19); and two days later Pendennis castle in Cornwall also surrendered. Harlech castle in North Wales was the last to submit (Mar. 30, 1647). Favourable terms were granted in all cases, and the articles were honourably observed. Much and justly as intestine warfare is to be deprecated, we may look back with pride to this civil contest, unexampled in the history of the world. It does not, like the civil wars of other countries, disgust us by details of butcheries and other savage atrocities; all was open and honour-

* "If it be not admitted they sold him," says sir P. Warwick, "it must be confessed they parted with him for a good price."

† The remarks of Lingard on this subject are candid and just. See also those of Laing and Hallam.

able warfare ; a generous humanity for the most part was displayed on both sides ; and those who were finally victorious, to their honour, sent none of the vanquished to the scaffold.

While awarding praise we cannot in justice pass over the catholic nobility and gentry of England. Urged by an impulse of generous loyalty, as appears to us, rather than by any cold calculations of interest, they ranged themselves on the side of the king, though they knew but too well that he was at all times ready to sacrifice them, and that they were the persons on whom the vengeance of the parliament would fall most heavily ; in the royal cause they wasted their estates, and shed their blood ; and dead must he be to generous feeling who honours not the names of the marquesses of Worcester and Winchester, sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the other catholic nobles and knights who fought on the side of royalty in the civil contest.

Montrose on receiving orders from the king laid down his arms and retired to the continent. Ormond had by the royal command concluded a peace with the Irish catholics, but the nuncio and the clergy having assembled at Waterford declared it void (Aug. 6). The nuncio then assumed the supreme power, and at the head of the united armies of Preston and Owen O'Neal* advanced against Dublin. As Ormond had wasted the country they were obliged to retire, but he was well aware that it must fall into their hands if not relieved from England. The king was now a captive, and powerless ; the Irish catholics were entirely ruled by their tyrannical priesthood, and nothing short of the extirpation of protestantism and the English interest would content them. To avert this calamity Ormond entered into treaty with the parliament, and he agreed (Feb. 22, 1647) to put Dublin and the other garisons into their hands. The sequestration was taken o

* Preston was the general of the catholics of the English blood, O'Neal the Ulster Irish.

from his own estate, and he had permission given him to reside for some time in England.

The presbyterian system was at this time established by ordinance of parliament; each parish was to have its minister and lay elders; a number of adjoining parishes were to form a classis with its presbytery of ministers and elders; several classes a province with its assembly; and finally, a national assembly over all. But the system never came into full operation except in London and Lancashire; the parliament could not be brought to allow of the divine right of presbytery; they greatly limited the power of the keys, and they allowed of appeals from the ecclesiastical courts. In their zeal for uniformity, hatred of toleration, lust of power, and tyrannical exercise of it, the presbyterian clergy fell nothing short of the prelatical party who had been their persecutors*.

The moderate party in parliament lost at this time a great support by the death of the earl of Essex (Sept. 14). He died in consequence of overheating himself in the chase of a stag in Windsor-forest. He was buried with great state in Westminster-abbey (Oct. 22); the members of both houses, the civil and military officers, and all the troops in London attending the funeral.

* Milton in various parts of his prose works is extremely and justly severe on them.

CHAPTER IX.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED).

1647—1649.

The parliament and army.—Seizure of the king ;—his treaties with Cromwell and Ireton ;—flight from Hampton-court.—Change of conduct in Cromwell and Ireton.—Second civil war.—Defeat of Hamilton.—Surrender of Colchester.—Treaty at Newport.—King seized again by the army.—Pride's Purge.—Proceedings of the parliament.—Trial of the king ;—his execution ;—character.—Reflections.

THE presbyterians were still, as we have seen, the more numerous party in parliament. The main strength of the other party lay in the army, in which, since the new model, the spirit of fanaticism had under the auspices of Cromwell greatly increased : for the English presbyterian clergy, less zealous or less prudent than their Scottish brethren, had preferred the enjoyment of good livings to the toils of a military life ; the regiments therefore were without chaplains ; the officers, and soon the privates, took on them the offices of praying and preaching ; goodness of memory and volubility of speech were regarded as inspiration ; spiritual pride soon followed, and they regarded themselves alone as the *godly*, the *saints* who were to possess the earth.

The parliament saw the danger likely to result from the continuance in arms of a body of men animated with fanaticism and formidable by discipline. To reduce their number was therefore the first object. As the royalists were utterly crushed and the Scots withdrawn, they proposed that a moderate force should be retained to preserve the peace in England, a sufficient army be sent to reduce Ireland, and the remainder be disbanded. To this arrangement the army had an invincible repugnance. The service in Ireland, however flattering to their fanatic spirit, promised only toil, privation and danger, and they looked for-

ward in preference to the quiet enjoyment of their pay in England. The habits of a military life had rendered their former plodding pursuits distasteful to them, particularly to the officers, many of whom had risen from very humble stations in society*. Cromwell too, now their actuating spirit, seems to have even then formed his plans for governing parliament by the army. The commons meantime voted (Mar. 8), that excepting the general there should be no further any officer of higher rank than colonel; that no member of the house should have a command, that all the officers should take the covenant and conform to the new form of church-government. It is quite evident that Cromwell was the person chiefly aimed at. But the parliament had unwisely suffered the pay of the army to fall into arrears, and thus furnished them with a plausible ground of complaint. The army on hearing of this vote suddenly broke up from their quarters about Nottingham and came to Saffron-Walden in Essex. Commissioners from the parliament met them there (22nd) on the subject of the service in Ireland; but the officers required to be previously satisfied on certain points, and a petition was meantime circulated for signatures through the army requiring an act of indemnity for all past actions, payment of arrears, exemption from impressment, pensions for the maimed and for widows, and pay till they should be disbanded. The parliament (30th) voted this petition to be mutinous, and forbade any further proceeding in it; but of this the soldiers took little heed.

The army had at this time a parliament of its own; the

* Colonel Pride for instance is said to have been a drayman, colonel Huson a cobbler. We must not however on all occasions give implicit credit to the royalist writers in these matters. Thus they always say that Harrison had been a butcher, whereas the truth is that his father was a respectable grazier, and himself a member of one of the inns of court. Mrs. Hutchinson however says, (p. 315) that he was "but a mean man's son and of a mean education, and no estate before the war"; but a grazier must have been a mean man in the eyes of the daughter of sir Allen Apsley. She adds, that Harrison "had gathered an estate of 2000*l.* a year, besides engrossing great offices and encroaching upon his under-officers, and maintained his coach and family at a height as if they had been born to principality."

superior officers formed a supreme council, while two *ad-jutators*, or, as they were soon named, *agitators**, being chosen from each regiment by the common soldiers, formed a lower house. It seems probable that Cromwell and his able son-in-law Ireton were the founders of this institution.

Throughout the months of April and May the parliament vainly sought to rid themselves of their refractory servants. At length, urged by the impetuosity of Hollis, Stapylton and Glynn, they sent (May 25) instructions to the general to disband the various regiments without delay. This measure produced results which they had by no means anticipated.

The king had been all this time at Holmby. The commissioners sent by the parliament to take charge of him treated him with respect, and he enjoyed the recreations of riding about the country and playing at bowls in the bowling-green at Althorpe : but his servants were selected by the parliament ; he was refused the attendance of any of his chaplains, and even the people who resorted to be touched for the king's-evil were not allowed to approach him. On the 12th of May he wrote to the parliament offering to establish presbytery for three years, to resign the command of the army for ten years, and to give full satisfaction respecting the war in Ireland. He had received no answer, when, on the 2nd of June, as he was at bowls, an officer in the uniform of Fairfax's regiment was observed among the spectators. The answers of the stranger to the inquiries of colonel Greaves, who commanded the guards at Holmby, exciting suspicion, the king was hurried home and the guards were doubled. About two in the morning (3rd) the stranger (who proved to be cornet Joice, formerly a tailor) appeared with a party of four hundred horse before the gates, where they were received by the guards as brethren : they said they were come to prevent their ene-

* This is the word employed by Ludlow, Berkeley and Hobbes. The change was probably made by the ignorant soldiers. Adjutator is incorrect, the proper Latin word being *adjutor*.

mies from carrying away the king. They set guards and passed the day in consultation. At ten at night Joice having placed guards on the commissioner's apartments proceeded to that of the king, which he entered with his hat in one hand and his pistol in the other. He behaved with civility, and he seems to have satisfied the king on the subject of his removal; Charles only required that he should repeat next day in public what he then said in private; Joice then withdrew.

At six next morning (4th) Joice drew up his men before the door. The king standing on the steps asked him what authority he had for conveying him away. He replied, that of the army. The king then demanded if he had a written commission from the general, and on his repeating the question, Joice pointing to his men said, "There is my commission." Charles smiled and said, "I never before read such a commission; but it is written in characters fair and legible enough; a company of as handsome, proper gentlemen as I have seen a long while." He then demanded to be treated with respect if he went with them, and not to have his conscience forced. The troopers acclaimed their assent, and Joice replied that it was not their principle to force any man's conscience, much less their king's. He offered him his choice of residences; Charles fixed on Newmarket; he was allowed the attendance of his own servants. The commissioners protested in vain against this act; the king when ready mounted his horse with a cheerful air and set out with the troopers, whom the commissioners also accompanied.

Fairfax, on hearing what had taken place, sent colonel Whalley with two regiments of horse to reconduct the king to Holmby, but he refused to return. Next day Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, and others, waited on him. In a private interview Fairfax made a proffer of his services. "Sir," said the king, "I have as good an interest in the army as you." On this Fairfax remarks, "By this I plainly saw the broken reed he leaned on; the agitators had brought him into an opinion that the army was for him." Fairfax

tried in vain to bring Joice to a court-martial. Hollis asserts, and probably with truth, that the whole matter had been planned by Cromwell and Ireton, and that Joice was only their agent.

When the parliament heard of this bold proceeding of the army they recalled their precipitate vote of the 25th of May. But this was of no avail; the army mustered (10th) on Triplow-heath near Cambridge, and prepared to march for London, and two days after they were at St. Albans, whence (16th) they sent a charge against eleven of the leading presbyterians, requiring them to be sequestered from parliament and thrown into prison. The headquarters of the army were then moved to Berkhamstead (25th) and next day to Uxbridge. Addresses from the counties round London, who now saw where the power really lay, were presented to the general and the army. Messages passed and repassed between the houses and the army; at length (July 20th) the eleven members desired and obtained leave to go into the country or beyond sea for six months; "and here," says Hallam, "may be said to have fallen the legislative power and civil government of England, which, from this hour to that of the restoration, had never more than a momentary and precarious gleam of existence, perpetually interrupted by the sword."

The king meantime was treated with unusual indulgence. He moved with the army, but things were so arranged as to enable him to stop at his own houses or the mansions of the nobility, by whom he was splendidly entertained. He was allowed the attendance of his episcopal chaplains; his friends were freely admitted to him. The parliament had always rudely refused to gratify him by the sight of his children, whom they had committed to the charge of the earl of Northumberland; but now, by a letter from Fairfax, the earl was directed to take them down to Cavesham-house near Reading, where they remained for two days with their father. Cromwell, who wanted not for natural feelings, and who was present at their first interview, declared to Berkeley that it was "the tenderest sight that

ever his eyes beheld," and wept plenteously when describing it.

Fairfax, brave and skilful in the camp and field, guileless and simple as a child in civil affairs, was but the puppet of Cromwell and Ireton. These two able men also ruled the council of officers and the agitators. Sir John Berkeley, who had returned from France, was the principal agent between them and the king. They expressed, and probably with sincerity, every inclination to restore him to his dignity, Cromwell himself declaring that "he thought no man could enjoy his estate quietly unless the king had his rights." But Charles, sanguine and imprudent, thought that by playing the army, the parliament and the Scots, against each other, he could recover his despotic power; he had also a firm persuasion that nothing could be finally arranged without him, and that whatever party he joined must have the superiority. They saw this. "Sir," said Ireton to him on one occasion, "you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be so between the parliament and you." When the king was at Woburn in the latter end of July, 'Proposals' far more moderate than any he had yet seen, drawn up by Ireton, were laid before him by Berkeley; but his reply was, "Well, I shall see them glad ere long to accept of more equal terms." Lord Lauderdale, one of the Scottish commissioners, had just at this time come down to inform him that a new covenant was receiving numerous signatures in the city, by which the subscribers bound themselves to bring him up to Westminster to confirm the concessions he had made at Holmby. Charles was as usual unduly elated, and when the council of officers waited on him with their completed proposals (Aug. 1), they met with a decided refusal. "You cannot do without me," said he; "you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." On a whisper from Berkeley the king attempted to soften the terms he had used; but colonel Rainsborough, a decided foe to accommodation, had already conveyed them to the army.

An event of great importance was now on the eve of happening. The citizens had petitioned against the demands of the army, but the houses rejected their prayer and also voted (July 24) the new covenant an act of treason. Two days after the citizens petitioned again, and on their being refused, a great crowd of apprentices and of the disbanded soldiers of Essex's army besieged the doors of the houses, and never ceased from clamour and threats till they had forced the parliament to rescind the obnoxious ordinances. The houses then adjourned to the 30th, on which day, when they met, they learned that the two speakers and several of the Independent members had fled to the army, which was now on its march for London. They appointed new speakers, revived the committee of safety, and prepared to raise a force to oppose the army. Waller, Massey and Poyntz were appointed to command the new levies.

On the 3rd of August the army mustered twenty thousand strong on Hounslow Heath. About fourteen of the lords and one hundred of the commons appeared among them. The aspect of things in the city in the meantime was various; when word came that the army had made a halt, the cry was "One and all!" if they heard that it was advancing, the word was "Treat! treat!" A letter was finally sent to the general, "beseeching him that there might be a way of composure." His demands of having the fortifications on the west side of the city given up to him being complied with, he moved on the morning of the 6th from his head-quarters at Hammersmith, one regiment of foot and two of horse preceding him, the members following in coaches; a regiment of horse bringing up the rear. All the soldiers wore laurel-sprigs in their hats. In this state he re-conducted the members to their seats. He received in return the thanks of both the houses and the lieutenancy of the Tower. Next day (7th) the whole army marched through the city, and then proceeded to take up their quarters in Kent and Essex, the general fixing himself at Croydon.

The eleven members, who had lately come forward again, now sought safety in flight. After many debates, enforced at length by a letter from the general, an ordinance was passed (Aug. 26), making null and void all votes, etc. from the 26th of July to the 6th of August. Soon after (Sept. 7th) Clement Walker, Glyn, the recorder, and sir John Maynard were expelled the house ; the seven lords, also, who had continued to sit, were impeached (8th), and the lord-mayor and four of the aldermen were committed to the Tower.

While matters were proceeding thus in London, the king remained in tranquillity. He removed to his house of Oatlands on the 14th, whither numbers resorted to him from London, and ten days after (24th) having dined with his children at Sion-house, he took up his abode at Hampton-court : the head-quarters of the general were now at Putney.

At Hampton-court the king enjoyed great liberty, having given his promise not to attempt an escape ; he saw his children whenever he pleased ; his friends had ready access to him ; he corresponded freely with the queen ; the officers treated him with the utmost respect. Frequent conversations took place between him and Cromwell as they walked in the gardens and galleries of the palace. Huntingdon, the major of Cromwell's regiment, and Berkeley and Ashburnham communicated frequently between them. On the 8th of September, the parliament, at the desire of the Scottish commissioners, sent the ' Propositions ' once more to the king. Charles, secretly advised by Ireton, rejected them ; his answer was shown privately to Cromwell and Ireton, and was in some parts amended by them. Cromwell gave repeated assurances that no worse conditions than the ' Proposals ' of the army should ever be imposed on him, and Ireton said that "they would purge and purge, and never leave purging the houses, till they had made them of such a temper as should do his majesty's business." In his reply to the houses, Charles declared his preference of the ' Proposals ' of the army, and

proposed to treat respecting that plan with commissioners of the parliament and army. "Cromwell, Ireton, and many of their party in the house," says Ludlow, "pressed the king's desires with great earnestness; wherein, contrary to their expectations, they found a vigorous opposition from such as had already conceived a jealousy of their private agreement with the king, and were now confirmed in that opinion; and the suspicions of them grew so strong that they were accounted betrayers of the cause, and lost almost all their friends in the parliament." He adds, that the army were no less dissatisfied with their conduct. There was in effect a new party sprung up in the army, styled by themselves 'Rationalists,' as they affected to possess no knowledge or talents, but simply the *reason* which God had given them to be their guide. They soon, however, acquired the more expressive title of 'Levellers,' as their reason showed them that all distinctions between man and man should be *levelled*. These were the men to whom all plans for the restoration of the king were so distasteful.

On taking a calm view of the whole of the dealings of Cromwell and Ireton at this time with the king, as they are variously reported, we see no reason whatever to doubt of their sincerity*. Cromwell, it is said, was to be made earl of Essex, captain of the king's guard, and a knight of the garter, and Ireton lord-lieutenant of Ireland†. But fear

* See the narrations of Berkeley, Ashburnham, Huntingdon and Ludlow. This last says (i. 198), "For my own part I am inclined to believe that Ireton never intended to close with the king." But Mrs. Hutchinson believed in his sincerity; he said to her husband, who was his cousin (p. 274), "He gave us words and we paid him in his own coin when we found he had no real intention to the people's good, but to prevail by our factions to regain by art what he had lost in fight." Godwin, in his zeal for the pure republicanism of Cromwell and Ireton, is content to let them pass for a pair of thorough hypocritical scoundrels, rather than allow of their sincerity in these transactions. Baron Maseres (Select Tracts, p. liv.) thinks as we do on this subject. So also does Dr. Lingard, who on this and other occasions is uncommonly just toward Cromwell.

† See Berkeley in Maseres' Tracts, p. 371. "If their own writers, prophets of their own, tell true, they capitulate for honours and preferments; Cromwell

of the levellers and the discovery of the king's insincerity, caused them afterwards to change and to become his enemies; for at this very time, Charles, with his incurable passion for intrigue, was in secret treaty with the Scots. He told lord Capel, that "he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations, in which the Scots promised themselves a universal concurrence from all the presbyterians in England; and that in such a conjuncture he wished that his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the success of the other." Ormond was also at Hampton-court, and it was arranged that he should at the same time resume the lieutenancy of Ireland, and act for the royal interest. Of this intrigue Cromwell got information, and he expostulated with Ashburnham, complaining "that the king could not be trusted," and adding, that "he would not be answerable if anything fell out amiss, and contrary to expectation*."

Cromwell is said to have discovered this by intercepting a letter from Charles to the queen. There is a curious story to the following effect: Cromwell and Ireton riding out with lord Broghill one day in Ireland, told him, that while they were in treaty with the king, they learned from one of their spies of the bed-chamber, that their doom was fixed in a letter to the queen, which was sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, that was to be taken to the Blue Boar in Holborn, to be sent to Dover. Cromwell and Ireton then, disguised as common troopers, went to the inn, and sat drinking there till the man they expected came, when they ripped up the saddle and found what they wanted. The king in it said that he thought he should close with the Scots, and they then having no hopes of him, resolved to ruin him. According to another account, the words of the letter were, "that he should know how in due time to

to have a blue ribbon, be an earl; his son to be of the bed-chamber to the prince; Ireton some great officer in Ireland." Hollis, *Ibid.* p. 264.

* Clarendon, v. 485.

deal with the rogues, who instead of a silken garter should be fitted in due time with a hempen cord*.”

Be this account true or false, Cromwell and Ireton kept up their communications with the king, but the levellers were now growing too strong for them. The agitators of sixteen regiments presented to parliament (Nov. 1) a plan for new-modelling the constitution. There was no mention in it of either king or lords; parliaments were to be biennial; all persons but servants were to have votes, etc. Cromwell and Ireton opposed these measures firmly, but the former was menaced with impeachment, and the latter had found it expedient to quit the council of officers, when it was intimated that the army would have no more addresses made to the king. It is said that there was a plot of the levellers to seize the person of the king, and Cromwell, who had pledged his word to give him warning if there was any danger, wrote to inform colonel Whalley, by whom the letter was instantly shown to him (Nov. 11). That very night, Charles, who had already withdrawn his parole, secretly quitted Hampton-court, accompanied by Legge, and crossing the river to Thames-Ditton, where Berkeley and Ashburnham were waiting with horses, proceeded to Titchfield-house in Sussex, the residence of the countess-dowager of Southampton. On his table at Hampton-court were found various letters, among which was an anonymous one warning him of assassination, and one from himself to the parliament, assuring them he would be always ready to leave the asylum which he had chosen, “whenever he might be heard with honour, freedom, and safety.”

There is great mystery in this escape of the king, which could hardly have taken place without the connivance of Whalley, and even of Cromwell. The enemies of the latter see in it a deep stratagem to get the king more completely

* Ashburnham (Narrative, p. 94) says that Cromwell and Ireton told him “that the king was in treaty with the parliament and the Scots, for the justification of which they affirmed that they had both his and the queen’s letters to make it good.” See the note on this subject in Laing’s History of Scotland.

into his power. We confess that we do not think so ill of Cromwell, and viewing him as a statesman and a man of humanity, we are inclined to give the preference to the opinion of Hobbes*, that he wished to afford the king an opportunity of escaping to the continent. It would also seem that Charles's original plan had been to make his escape by sea, and that he had arranged with the Scottish commissioners to go to Berwick, but that they had repelled him by talking again of their covenant. He then appears to have thought of Jersey, but no vessel had been provided, and there seemed little chance of being able to procure one speedily. He also thought of the Isle of Wight†, of which colonel Hammond, the nephew of one of his chaplains, and a man of honour, had lately been made governor. While he and Legge therefore remained at Titchfield, he sent Berkeley and Ashburnham to Hammond with copies of Cromwell's and the anonymous letter, to tell him that the king designed to seek protection from him. They met Hammond as he was on his way from Carisbrooke-castle to Newport, and Berkeley abruptly began by informing him that the king was at hand. Hammond turned pale, and trembled excessively, and was near falling from his horse. "Oh, gentlemen!" he cried, "you have undone me by bringing the king into the island, if you have brought him; if you have not, pray let him not come; for what between my duty to his majesty and my gratitude for this fresh obligation of his confidence on the one hand, and the observance of my trust to the army on the other, I shall be confounded." When he came to himself the affair was considered. Hammond would only pledge himself to do what might be expected from "a person of honour and honesty," with which Ashburnham declared himself satisfied. Hammond then proposed that one should remain while the other returned to the king,

* Behemoth, Part iii. apud Maseres, p. 593.

† Ashburnham (Narr. p. 112) asserts that the king left Hampton Court with the intention of going to the Isle of Wight.

but he afterwards decided to go with them himself. When they were taking boat at Cowes, he made captain Baskett, the commandant there, enter it with them. On their arrival at Titchfield, the others remained below while Ashburnham went up to apprise the king. "What!" cried Charles, striking his breast in agony, "have you brought Hammond with you? Oh, Jack! you have undone me; for I am by this means made fast from stirring. The governor will keep me prisoner." He then told him that he had sent to Southampton for a vessel. Ashburnham proposed what he called an "expedient," which was "to secure," i. e. murder both Hammond and Baskett. Charles walked up and down the room, weighing the proposal. "I understand you well enough," said he, "but the world would not excuse me. Should I follow that counsel, it would be believed that Hammond had ventured his life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him. It is too late to think of anything but going through the way you have forced upon me, and so leave the issue to God." Ashburnham burst into tears. We could wish that the king had rejected the nefarious project in stronger terms.

Hammond and Baskett were now called up; they kissed the king's hand, and Hammond renewed his protestations. Charles then passed over to the island, where he was lodged in Carisbrooke-castle. He found the people of the place loyal, and he was allowed to ride about as he pleased.

The projects of the levellers meantime appeared so dangerous to the superior officers, that it was determined to make a bold effort to suppress them, and this was effected by the resolution of Cromwell, whose very life was at stake. Fairfax having ordered the troops to muster in three brigades on three different days, had a remonstrance prepared, to be read at the head of each regiment. The first rendezvous took place at Ware (Nov. 15), where two regiments, not of the brigade, appeared on the ground, with seditious papers round their hats; one of these, on being reasoned with, submitted; the other proving refractory, Cromwell

caused some of the most forward and turbulent to be seized. A court-martial was held on them; three were condemned to death, and being made to draw lots, he on whom the lot fell was shot at the head of the regiment, and the mutinous spirit was thus checked for the present. Cromwell however, it would seem, soon saw that it was too dangerous to oppose the violent party; two-thirds of the army, it is said, had apprised him and Ireton, that they were resolved, come what might, to go on with their enterprise of destroying the king, and that fearing the effect of a schism in the army, they "concluded that if they could not bring the army to their sense it was best to comply with them." Of this Berkeley was informed in the following mysterious manner. Being sent by the king and Hammond with letters to the general and Cromwell and Ireton at Windsor, he met with a very cool reception from them. He retired to his inn, and in the evening sent his servant out to try if he could meet any of his acquaintance. A general officer spoke to him, and desired him to tell his master that he would meet him at midnight in a close behind the Garter inn. In the interview he told Berkeley that the army no longer mistrusted Cromwell and Ireton; that it was intended to send a body of eight hundred men to seize the king, in order to bring him to trial; "and therefore," said he, "if the king can escape, let him do it as he loves his life." Berkeley wrote off immediately to the king and Hammond; he then sent to request an interview with Cromwell, who answered that he durst not see him, but assured him, "that he would serve the king as long as he could without his own ruin." Berkeley, on returning to the king, found that in reliance on a treaty he was in with the Scots commissioners he had no thoughts of making an escape.

The king had all along been importuning the parliament for a personal treaty, and at length (Dec. 24) commissioners of both houses presented him four bills, his assent to which was required as preliminary to a personal treaty. By the first the parliament was to have the command of

the army for twenty years, even after which time, if the houses declared the safety of the kingdom to be concerned, all their bills relating to the army and navy should be acts of parliament without the royal assent ; the second declared all oaths, proclamations, etc. against the parliament during the war null and void ; the third took away all titles of honour conferred since the 20th of May, 1642, and no future peers were to sit without consent of parliament ; the fourth gave the houses the power of adjourning at their discretion.

The Scottish commissioners had given all the opposition in their power to these bills, and finding they could not impede them, they hurried to Carisbrooke, where they arrived a day before those sent by the parliament, and by making vague concessions on both sides the long-agitated treaty was agreed on and signed. Charles, in consequence, gave a peremptory rejection to the four bills, but as his object was now to effect his escape as soon as possible, he delivered his answer sealed up ; the commissioners, however, insisting on knowing its contents, he was obliged to read it to them and Hammond. Though he expressly stipulated that it should cause no difference in his treatment, Hammond instantly dismissed his servants, and doubled the guards. Charles had in fact intended to escape that very night to a ship sent by the queen, which lay off the island, but he was thus prevented. A royalist officer named Burley then endeavoured to raise the people and storm the castle, and liberate the king ; but the project failed, and Burley was soon after tried and executed as a traitor.

Shortly after the return of their commissioners, (Jan. 3, 1648) the parliament, after a long debate, voted to make no more addresses to the king, and to receive no more messages from him ; that if any person communicated with him without leave he should be guilty of high-treason, and that the committee of public safety should be renewed, and have no foreign (*i. e.* Scottish) coadjutors. This was in effect dethroning the king. Cromwell is said to have de-

clared in the debate, that "the king was a man of great parts and great understanding, but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted." A declaration was presented from the army (11th) expressing their resolution "to stand by the parliament in the things then voted." The houses also put forth a declaration, in which all the charges ever made against the king, including the odious one of being accessory to the murder of his father, were reiterated*.

Yet, though Charles was a close prisoner, his cause was far from being hopeless. The great body of the people were in favour of retaining the original constitution; they saw how they had been illuded; they were oppressed with heavier taxation than ever they had known before, and subjected to the insolence and tyranny of local committees, though the war had long been ended; they beheld before them every prospect of a military despotism. The general wish, therefore, was for a personal treaty with the king. The commonwealth's men in the parliament and the army were at the same time resolved on the abolition of monarchy, as they had found in Scripture that it was a thing bad in itself and condemned of God. Ludlow tells us, that Cromwell procured a conference between them and the grandees of the house and army, in which the latter "kept themselves in the clouds, and would not declare their judgments either for a monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical government; maintaining that any of these might be good in themselves, or for us, according as Providence should direct us." The former exposed all their reasons, and Cromwell, whose only object had been to learn the state of feeling and opinion among them, declared he was unresolved; and flinging a cushion at Ludlow's head ran down stairs pursued by him with another cushion.

* "Mr. Selden told the house that he was one of the committee to examine the business of poisoning king James, in the duke of Buckingham's time, but could find nothing at all reflecting on the king, and therefore moved the house that that article might be deserted." Clarendon State Papers, ii. App. 45.

The friends of the monarchy in Scotland, headed by Hamilton, were meantime exerting themselves to have the treaty carried into effect, and an army raised for the aid of the royal cause. But if ever there was a priest-ridden people, it was the Scots at this time ; and the clergy, finding that presbytery was to be established only for three years in England, with liberty of dissent for the king himself and all others, thundered from their pulpits against the Engagement, as it was named, and pronounced a curse on all who should share in the war. The levies, therefore, went on slowly ; and the English royalists, who were to have risen when the Scots appeared, lost patience and took to arms in various parts.

The first person who raised the royal standard in the second civil war, which now commenced, (Mar. 3) was colonel Poyer, governor of Pembroke for the parliament. He was joined by Laugherne and Powel, two colonels whose men had been disbanded, but now returned to their standards. They took Chepstow, besieged Carnarvon, and defeated colonel Fleming. Cromwell however appeared (May 8) ; and he besieged them in Pembroke and forced them to surrender. The royalists next rose in Kent (May 23), and some ships of war in the river declared for the king and went over to the Hague to put themselves under the command of the prince. Fairfax however routed the royalists at Maidstone (June 1), and Goring, earl of Norwich, who the next day had appeared at Blackheath, hoping to be admitted by the discontented citizens, found his hopes baffled by the prudence of the parliamentary leaders, who had released the aldermen, discharged the impeachment against the six lords, and allowed the excluded members to resume their seats. He therefore crossed the river and threw himself into Colchester, where he was soon after besieged by Fairfax.

At length the Scottish army led by Hamilton entered England (July 8). Owing to the opposition of the clergy it did not exceed 14,000 men, and these indifferently armed

and ill-supplied with artillery. It was followed, however, by 3000 veterans from the army in Ireland under Munro, and a body of 4000 gallant royalists, under sir Marmaduke Langdale, preceded it. But Hamilton, though brave, was no general. Instead of pursuing Lambert, the parliamentary general, who retired from the siege of Carlisle at his approach, he wasted forty days in a march of eighty miles into Lancashire, and thus gave time for Cromwell, who had reduced Pembroke, to come and join Lambert. Hamilton's army was also scattered over such an extent of country as almost rendered it ineffective. The English royalists were attacked (Aug. 18) at Preston by the parliamentary army of nine thousand men; they fought with such heroism, that had they been supported by the Scots in the slightest degree they would have probably gained a victory; but the irresolute duke knew not how to act, and when the royalists retired into the town they found that their Scottish allies had abandoned their artillery and baggage, and were in full retreat. Langdale then directed his infantry to disperse, and with his cavalry swam over the Ribble, Hamilton accompanying his flight. Baillie surrendered with the Scottish infantry at Warrington (20th), the duke gave himself up to Lambert at Utoxeter (25th), Langdale, travelling in disguise, was taken near Nottingham. Such was the termination of this ill-managed expedition.

While the Scots were on their way to England, a feeble attempt to rouse the people of London was made by the earl of Holland, who had once more veered round to the side of royalty. Leaving his house in the city at the head of five hundred horse, he marched (July 5) to Kingston, whence he sent messages to the parliament and common-council, calling on them to join him in putting an end to the calamities of the nation. But he was attacked and routed (7th), and flying to St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, was there obliged to surrender (10th).

Colchester, though defended only by a low rampart of

earth, had been gallantly maintained for nearly three months. The distress in the town was extreme, all the horses and even the dogs and cats had been consumed for food, when at length (the officers having vainly urged their men to follow them in an attempt to break through the besiegers' lines) they were obliged to surrender at discretion (Aug. 28), quarter being secured to the privates.* The earl of Norwich, and the lords Capel and Loughborough were among those who surrendered. Fairfax held a council of war, which condemned sir Charles Lucas, sir George Lisle and sir Bernard Gascoigne to instant death. Lucas was first shot; when he fell, Lisle ran up and kissed his dead body; he desired the soldiers to draw nearer. "I'll warrant you, sir," said one of them, "we'll hit you." "Friends," he replied, with a smile, "I have been nearer you when you have missed me." They fired, and he fell dead. Gascoigne, who it appeared was a Tuscan by birth, was respited. This execution is certainly a stain on the character of Fairfax; it was said that Ireton urged him to it.

The prince of Wales, who had taken the command of the revolted fleet, sailed over with nineteen ships to the Downs (July 20). Here he lay for six weeks soliciting the city by letters. The king wished that they should come and liberate him, but the sailors insisted on fighting; the parliamentary commanders, however, cautiously avoided an engagement, and want of provisions at length obliged the prince's fleet to return to Holland.

The presbyterian party, as we have seen, had recovered their preponderance in parliament; the vote of non-address

* A few days before the surrender of Colchester 500 women were sent out of the town: the besiegers fired blank cartridge at them to drive them back; the garrison refused to let them in, the besiegers would not let them pass their lines and we know not what became of them. On the 19th a woman with five children, one at the breast, came, and falling on her knees before the guards begged to be allowed to pass the line; "but they were forced," says Whitelock, "to turn her back again lest hundreds more should follow her, to the prejudice of the service."

was therefore repealed (July 28), and a personal treaty was agreed on ; but nothing was done till the intelligence of Cromwell's success in the north warned them that the army party might soon regain their influence. They then (Sept. 1) appointed five lords and ten commoners to conduct the negotiation, which was to continue for forty days. The king, on giving his word not to attempt to escape during that time, or for twenty days after, was allowed to reside at a private house in the town of Newport : he was also permitted to have his servants, his chaplains, and such of his councillors as had not shared in the war, but none of them were suffered to take any part in the deliberations, though the king might retire to consult with them. The terms proposed were in substance those offered to him at Hampton-court, from which the parliament would not, perhaps could not, make any abatement. "Consider, Mr. Buckley," said the king to one of them, "if you call this a treaty, whether it be not like the fray in the comedy, where the man comes out and says, 'There has been a fray and no fray;' and being asked how that could be, 'Why,' says he, 'there hath been three blows given, and I have had them all.'" The mental powers which the king displayed in this treaty astonished the commissioners. "The king is wonderfully improved," said lord Salisbury to Sir Philip Warwick. "No, my lord, it is your lordship who has too late discerned what he always was," was the reply. Sir Henry Vane told sir Edward Walker that they had been much deceived in the character of the king, whom they had considered as a weak man; "but now," says he, "that we find him to be a person of great parts and abilities, we must the more consider our own security, for he is only the more dangerous."

As the commissioners had no power to concede any point, all the king's objections and proposals had to be transmitted to London, which of course caused considerable delay. Charles himself also was too fond of discussion, in which he knew he excelled. After long debates, he however

yielded most of their demands. He consented to recall all his proclamations against the parliament, and allow that it had taken up arms in its just defence; he surrendered the militia, the chief offices of state, and the government of Ireland for twenty years; he agreed to accept 100,000*l.* a year for the court of wards, to recognise the parliament's great seal, and to make no peers without consulting the two houses. But on two points he was firm; he would not abandon the seven persons whom they selected as victims to their vengeance; he would not abolish episcopacy, though he would suspend it for three years, cut off all dignities above or below that of bishop, whose powers he would limit to ordination, with the advice of presbyters*. The church-lands he would not consent to alienate, but he would let the present possessors have leases of them for lives, or ninety-nine years.

While matters were thus protracted the army was advancing, and the real views of the independents were every day made more manifest. Early in September (11th), a petition from "thousands well-affected persons in and near London" had informed the parliament of what they expected. This was to make good the supremacy of the people from all pretences of negative voices in king or lords; to have elections yearly, and of course without writ or summons; the parliament not to sit longer than forty or fifty days, and to have no compulsive power in matters of religion; kings, queens, princes, dukes, earls, and all persons to be alike liable to every law of the land; the proceedings in law to be shortened, and the charges made certain; all late enclosures to be opened, or to be only for the benefit of the poor; all monopolies to be abolished, and all taxes but subsidies to be taken off; the many thousands that are ruined by perpetual imprisonment for debt to be

* His motives for adhering to episcopacy, Laing says, "deserve our mingled compassion and respect." What are we to say to the presbyterian divines, who "told him that if he did not consent to the utter abolishing of episcopacy he would be damned"? Clarendon, vi. 168.

considered, and provision made for their enlargement; tithes to be abolished, etc. This petition did not go the length of calling for the abolition of monarchy and nobility, but it concluded with stating, that the petitioners had expected the parliament "to have laid to heart the abundance of innocent blood that hath been spilt, and the infinite spoil and havock that hath been made of peaceable, harmless people by express commission from the king, and to have seriously considered whether the justice of God be likely to be satisfied, or his yet remaining wrath to be appeased by an act of oblivion." The meaning of this last hint was plain enough. Some time after (Oct. 18) Ireton's regiment petitioned the general that justice might be done on the contrivers and encouragers of the late rebellion and second war, and "that the same fault may have the same punishment in the person of king or lord as in the person of the poorest commoner"; and that whoever should act or speak in the king's behalf till he had been acquitted of the guilt of shedding innocent blood, should be a traitor. The petition of Ingoldsby's regiment (30th) spoke of "an immediate care that justice be done upon the principal invaders of all their liberties, namely, the king and his party," and required the re-establishment of the general council of the army to consider of some effectual remedies. Finally (Nov. 20) came the 'Large Remonstrance of the Army,' demanding a present reading, and insisting that the treaty should be broken off, and the king be brought to justice "as the capital cause of all." They desired that a period should be set to this parliament, and a new one be elected according to rules which they laid down; this to be the supreme power, and future kings to be *elected* by it. "These things they press as good for this and other kingdoms, and hope it will not be taken ill because from an army, and so servants, when their masters are servants and trustees for the kingdom." A long debate ensued on this insolent petition; it was adjourned, and when resumed (30th) the question of taking the petition

into speedy consideration was resolved in the negative by a majority of sixty-seven voices.

The commissioners were still with the king, for the period of the treaty had been extended. Both they and his friends were urgent with him to concede more, in order to save himself from the army. Hammond being summoned at this time to head-quarters (26th), and colonel Ewers sent to secure the person of the king, he could no longer be blind to the ulterior designs of the army. His firmness therefore gave way, and he consented (27th) to abandon his friends provided they were allowed the benefit of the ancient laws, and to suspend the functions of the bishops, and vest their lands in the crown till religion should be settled by the king and parliament. Next morning, when the commissioners were taking leave of him, Charles is said* to have addressed them in these words: "My lords, I believe we shall scarce ever see each other again. But God's will be done! I have made my peace with him, and shall undergo without fear whatever he may suffer men to do to me. My lords, you cannot but know that in my fall and ruin you see your own, and that also near you. I pray God send you better friends than I have found. I am fully informed of the carriage of them that plot against me and mine, but nothing affects me so much as the feeling I have of the sufferings of my subjects, and the mischief that hangs over my three kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who, upon pretences of good, violently pursue their own interests and ends." Hammond departed with the commissioners, and the king was again confined in Carisbrooke-castle, under the charge of one Boreman, an officer of militia.

It is to be feared that even in this treaty Charles was not sincere. In a letter to Ormond, who was now in Ireland negotiating with the catholics, he tells him not to be startled at his concessions, which would come to nothing, and desires him to follow not his, but the queen's directions. Four

* Evelyn's Memoirs, ii. 128.

days after, when pressed to disavow Ormond's powers, he assured the commissioners that since the first votes for the treaty, he had transacted no business relating to Ireland with any but themselves. He was also all the time meditating an escape, and corresponded anxiously on this matter with sir William Hopkins, who commanded a ship opposite Newport. In one letter (Oct. 9) he says, "To deal freely with you, the great concession I made to-day was merely in order to my escape, of which, if I had not hopes, I would not have done; for then I could have returned to my strait prison without reluctance; but now I confess it would break my heart, having done that which nothing but an escape would justify." It is hence inferred, that his intention was to get over to Ireland and renew the war at the head of the catholic insurgents. But this is not a necessary consequence; he might have only designed to go to the continent, and there wait to see the turn events might take. As to his parole, he seems to have considered himself released from it, as the conditions on which he gave it, he maintained, were not kept.

We have seen from the king's words to the commissioners, that he had apprehensions for his life. We are told, in fact, that some days before sir Philip Killegrew had come privately from Windsor, at the risk, as he said, of going "to prison or to pot," and informed him of the design of the army to seize him, bring him to trial, and put him to death. But Charles could hardly credit the intelligence. The evening after the departure of the commissioners, however, a person in disguise told one of his servants that the army would seize on him that night. Charles consulted with his friends; they urged an immediate escape as the night was dark, and colonel Coke knew the watchword; but Charles had been induced to renew his parole. "They have promised me," said he, "and I will not break first." He retired to rest about midnight, and soon after colonel Cobbett arrived with a troop of horse and a company of foot. At five the king was awakened

by a summons to depart. He was placed in a coach and conveyed to a block-house named Hurst-castle, which stood on a rock in the sea, joined by a causeway two miles in length to the coast of Hampshire.

The proceedings of the army at this time were as follows: The officers having "spent a day (26th) wholly in prayer," entered into consultation on the best mode of bringing to effect the contents of their Remonstrance; a petition at the same time reached them from the army of the north, calling for justice on delinquents. This petition was forwarded and recommended by Cromwell. The very day that the king was seized and their Remonstrance rejected (30th), they published a Declaration against the house of commons, in which, charging the majority with "apostasy from the public trust reposed in them," they appealed from them "unto the extraordinary judgement of God and good people." They called on "so many of them as God hath kept upright" to withdraw from the others, and added, that the army was drawing up to London, "there to follow Providence as God shall clear their way." Two days after (Dec. 2) they came and took up their head quarters in St. James's, the Mews, Whitehall, and York-house, and other houses, and in the suburban villages.

The commons, led by the intrepid Hollis, showed no want of spirit on this occasion, and after a violent debate of three days, in which Pierrepoint, Fiennes and Prynne distinguished themselves as the able advocates of monarchy against Vane and the republicans, it was carried (Dec. 5) by a majority of forty-six that the king's concessions were "sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom." But their triumph was short. Ludlow and his party went and consulted with the officers, and next day (6th) their guard of trained-bands was dismissed, and the colonels Ric and Pride, the one with a regiment of horse, the other with one of foot, took their place. Pride stood in the lobby with a list of names in his hand, and when the mem

bers in it were pointed out to him as they passed by one of the door-keepers, or by lord Grey of Groby, he seized them and sent them off prisoners to various places. About forty members were thus *secured*, as it was termed, on this day, and on the following days several members were *secluded*, or forbidden to enter the house; and these imprisonments and seclusions, joined with the absence of those who retired to the country, reduced the house to about fifty members, afterwards named the Rump*, as the process itself was termed Pride's Purge.

During all this time Cromwell was absent, but his place was well supplied by Ireton. After the victory at Preston, he had advanced and besieged Berwick, whence, on the invitation of Argyle and his party†, he proceeded to Edinburgh (Sept. 30). Leaving Lambert there with two regiments to support his friends, he returned to England, where he engaged in the siege of Pontefract, which was held by the royalists, and he did not return to London till the day after the seizure of the members, when, on the motion of Henry Marten, the thanks of the house were voted to him for his late services in the north. "He declared," says Ludlow, "that he had not been acquainted with this design, yet since it was done he was glad of it, and would maintain it."

The miserable remnant who presumed to call themselves the commons of England, voted every thing that their military masters prescribed‡. They rescinded their

* It seems to have been Walker who first gave it this name. "This fag-end," says he, "this *rump* of a parliament, with corrupt maggots in it."

† The people of the western counties, each parish headed by its minister, had marched to Edinburgh and expelled the committee of estates. This was called the *Whigamores' Raid*, for so the western peasantry were named from the word *Whig*, it is said, which they used in driving their horses.

‡ The caustic Walker calls the parliament "a mere free-school, where Cromwell is head-schoolmaster, Ireton usher, and that cypher Fairfax a propositor." "Surely," he adds, "these men are either the supreme judges, or the supreme rebels and tyrants of the kingdom." It should be recorded to the honour of sir Henry Vane, that he had no share in the subsequent iniquitous proceedings. He retired to his castle of Raby when the house was purged.

late votes, and renewed that of non-address, and when (11th) the secluded members drew up a protest against the late violence on their persons, and declared all acts, votes, etc. made or to be made during their absence void, they (the lords pusillanimously joining them) voted it (15th) to be "false, scandalous and seditious, and tending to destroy the visible and fundamental government of this kingdom." How different their conduct had been with respect to the votes passed between the 26th of July and the 6th of August! Yet these are the men whom we are called on to admire as models of pure virtue and disinterested patriotism*.

The very same day (11th) a piece called 'The Agreement of the People,' drawn up as usual by Ireton, was presented to the general by the council of officers. It was a plan of government the same in substance with their late Remonstrance. On the 22nd both houses kept the usual solemn fast. "Hugh Peters, the pulpit-buffoon," says Walker, "acted a sermon before them." His subject was Moses leading the Israelites out of Egypt, which he applied in the usual manner to the present times; the grandees being Moses, etc. "But how," cries he, "is this to be done? That is not yet revealed unto me." He then, according to the same authority, laid his head on the cushion, covering his eyes with his hands. At length he started up. "Now I have it," cried he, "by revelation; now I shall tell you. This army must root up monarchy, not only here, but in France and other kingdoms round about; this army is that corner-stone cut out of the mountain which must dash the powers of the earth to pieces." The objection, of the deed which he recommended being without precedent, he obviated by referring to the case of the birth of our Lord. "This," said he, "is an age to make

* Ludlow (ii. 353) says of the secluded members, "they had been expelled the house by more than a quorum of lawful members," or as he elsewhere (p. 369) expresses it, "by those that had an undisputed authority over their own members." He seems to have had strange notions of parliamentary authority.

examples and precedents in." Next day (23rd) there was a debate about bringing the great delinquents to a speedy punishment. "And now," says Whitelock, "was set on foot and begun their great design of taking away the king, whom divers in the debate did not stick to name for the greatest delinquent." There were some who justly maintained that a king could not be brought to justice by his subjects; but they saw from the fierceness of their adversaries, that if they opposed they would only be secluded, and their constancy gave way. It was then attempted to throw the business on the army. "But they were subtle enough," says the same author, "to see and avoid that, and to make those whom they left sitting in the parliament to be their *stales* and do their dirty work for them." A committee of thirty-eight was voted to consider how to proceed in a way of justice against the king. In the debate, Cromwell is said to have expressed himself as follows: "If any man moved this upon design, I should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I shall pray to God to bless your councils, though I am not provided on the sudden to give you counsel."

On the 1st of January, 1649, the commons voted that it is treason in a king of England to levy war against the parliament and people; and the next day (2nd) an ordinance which they had passed for the trial of the king was sent to the upper house. The lords, who, in anticipation of what was to come, had ordered the attendance of all the members of their house, and who therefore now mustered sixteen, rejected the ordinance unanimously*. The commons

* "The parliament of England, by the fundamental laws," said the earl of Manchester, "consists of three estates, king, lords and commons. The king is the first and chief estate; he calls and dissolves parliaments, and without him there can be no parliament; therefore it is absurd to say the king can be a traitor against the parliament." "*The greatest part* ('at least twenty to one,' adds Walker) *of the people of England*," said the earl of Northumberland, "*are not yet satisfied whether the king levied war first against the houses, or the houses against him. And if the king did levy war first against the*

then (4th) voted themselves to be the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted by them is law without the concurrence of king or lords ; and (6th) they passed the ordinance for the trial of their sovereign.

This unhappy prince was now at Windsor. On the 18th of December, at midnight, the sound of the fall of the drawbridge and the trampling of horses awoke him from his sleep ; on inquiring the cause, he learned that colonel Harrison had arrived. The king was troubled. "Do you not know," said he to Herbert, who waited on him, "that this is the man who intended to assassinate me, as by letter I was informed during the late treaty ? This is a place fit for such a purpose." Charles, however, had been misinformed ; Harrison was a fanatic, but not an assassin. He was come to conduct him to London, which he did with all due respect. The royal captive felt his condition sadly altered ; the usual ceremony no longer surrounded him ; even his meat was brought to table, uncovered, by the hands of the rude soldiers. This treatment mortified him greatly. He had various hints too of the meditated proceedings against him, yet still so sanguine was his temper that he was actually cheerful ; he had hopes on Ireland and Scotland, and on foreign princes, and he could not believe it possible that his subjects would bring him to a public trial. Of this, however, he soon had the certainty ; for on the 19th of January he was conducted to St. James's, preparatory to his trial the next day.

The individuals at Westminster who took on them to act in the name of the people of England, had in their ordinance of the 4th of January nominated one hundred and thirty-five persons, members of the house, officers of the army, lawyers and citizens, to form a High Court of Justice, for the trial of the king ; John Bradshaw, sergeant-at-law, was appointed president ; Dr. Dorislaus, and Messrs.

houses, we have no law to make it treason in him so to do ; and for us to declare treason by an ordinance when the matter of fact is not yet proved nor any law extant to judge it by, is very unreasonable."

Steele, Aske and Cooke, counsellors to the court; sergeant Dandy, sergeant-at-arms; and Mr. Phelps, clerk*.

On Saturday the 20th, the solemn mockery of justice was opened in Westminster-hall, which was prepared for the occasion. At the upper end, in a chair of crimson velvet, sat the president Bradshaw, his broad-brimmed beaver lined with plates of iron for security, covering his head; a desk and velvet cushion were placed before him. At a table below him, covered with a rich Turkey carpet, on which lay the sword and mace, sat the two clerks of the court. The members of the court, about seventy in number, sat in their best habits, and with their hats on their heads, on side benches covered with scarlet. A seat of crimson velvet was placed within the bar, opposite that of the president, for the illustrious prisoner; the galleries and the lower part of the hall were filled with spectators.

Charles was brought from St. James's to Whitehall, and thence by water to Westminster-hall, and it is worthy of notice that the watermen insisted on rowing him bare-headed. He was conducted into the hall by the colonels Tomlinson and Hacker and a guard bearing partisans; the sergeant-at-arms advanced to receive him, and led him to his seat. Charles looked steadily round on the court and the spectators, and then sat down; he rose again, looked over the hall, and resumed his seat. Bradshaw addressed his sovereign, informing him that "the commons of England assembled in parliament" had, in pursuance of their duty and in consequence of the bloodshed and calamities brought on the kingdom, of which he was regarded as the author, constituted this court for his trial. Cooke then, in the name of the commons of England, accused Charles Stuart of high-treason and misdemeanours, and desired the charge to be read to him. The king was about to reply, but the president stopped him; the clerk then read the charge. After stating, that having been "trusted with a limited power to govern by and according to the laws of

* See Appendix (K).

the land and not otherwise," he had attempted "to rule according to his will," and with this design "had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament and the people therein represented," it enumerated all the battles in which the king had been present, charging him with all the blood shed in them, etc. etc. "And the said John Cooke," it proceeded, "doth, for the said treason and crimes, on behalf of the said people of England, impeach the said Charles Stuart as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England." The king smiled often (as well he might) during the reading of the charge, especially at the words "tyrant, traitor, etc." Bradshaw then informed him that the court expected him to reply to the charge. Charles asked by what power he was called thither. "I would know," said he, "by what lawful authority—there are many unlawful authorities, thieves and robbers on the highway—I was brought from the Isle of Wight and carried from place to place?" He reminded them that he was their lawful king, and declared that he would not betray the trust "committed to him by God, and old and lawful descent," by answering to "a new unlawful authority." Bradshaw told him the authority was that of the people of England, "of whom he was *elected* king." "I deny that," replied the king; "England never was an elective kingdom." "I see no house of lords here," said he; "that should constitute a parliament, and the king too should have been here." Bradshaw replied, "We are satisfied with our authority that are your judges, and it is upon God's authority and the kingdom's." He then adjourned the court till Monday.

On that day (22nd) the court again sat. The king was required to answer the charge; he denied the authority of the court, and asserted that, as a king, he could not be tried. "But," said he, "it is not my case alone, it is the freedom and the liberties of the people of England; and do *you* pretend what you will, I stand more for their liber-

ties: for if power without law may make laws, nay, alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom, I do not know what subject he is in England that can be sure of his life, or any thing he calls his own." To all the reasons and arguments of the king Bradshaw's reply was, that prisoners were not to dispute the authority of the court. The court was adjourned to the next day. The proceedings on that day were of a similar nature. On Saturday (27th) the court held its final sitting, the intermediate days having been occupied in hearing witnesses in proof of the king's having been in arms; sixty-seven commissioners were present. As the king passed up the hall, a cry of "Justice! justice! Execution! execution!" was raised by some soldiers and some of the rabble. When addressed by the president, he said he should now wave all debate as he saw it was useless, and "an ugly sentence," he believed, would pass on him; but as he had something to say which concerned the peace of the kingdom and the liberty of the subject, he desired before sentence was given to be heard in the Painted Chamber before the lords and commons. They retired to consult; in about an hour they returned with a negative; the king declared that he had nothing more to say, and Bradshaw then made a long speech in proof of the king's misgovernment and of kings being accountable to their people. When he had concluded, the clerk read the sentence, adjudging the monarch to death as a traitor, murderer, etc. All the commissioners present stood up in proof of their assent. "Will you hear me a word, sir?" said the king.—"Sir, you are not to be heard after the sentence."—"No, sir!"—"No, sir, by your favour, sir. Guards, withdraw your prisoner."—"I may speak after the sentence, by your favour, sir! I may speak after sentence is over! By your favour, hold! The sentence, sir! I say, sir! I do, I am not suffered to speak; expect what justice other people will have." As he passed out, the cry of "Justice! execution!" again assailed his ears, and various insults were offered him. One soldier cried out,

“God bless you, sir!” for which his officer struck him with his cane. “The punishment methinks,” said Charles, “exceeds the offence.” He afterwards asked Herbert if he had remarked the cry for “justice.” He replied that he had, and wondered at it. “So did not I,” said the king, “for I am well assured the soldiers bear no malice to me. The cry was no doubt given by their officers, for whom the soldiers would do the like were there occasion.”

The following events which occurred during the trial are deserving of note. When the name of Fairfax, as one of the commissioners, was called, a female voice from the gallery replied, “He has more wit than to be here.” When the charge was made in the name of the commons and people of England, the same voice exclaimed, “It is a lie! not a quarter of the people! Oliver Cromwell is a rogue and a traitor.” The speaker was masked; Col. Axtell desired his men to fire on the gallery; there was a confusion, and the lady withdrew. It was lady Fairfax, a rigid presbyterian. As the king was leaning on his cane or staff, as it was then called, the silver head fell off and rolled on the ground. The circumstance seemed ominous, and Charles was evidently disturbed. He afterwards owned to bishop Juxon that “it really made a great impression on him.”

When the king returned to Whitehall, he sent to the house, desiring, as the time of his execution might be nigh, that he might have leave to see his children and have Dr. Juxon to be private with him and to give him the sacrament. His request was acceded to (Hugh Peters, to his honour, exerting his influence in his favour) and Juxon preached before him that night. Next day being Sunday (28th), the commissioners kept their fast in the chapel at Whitehall; the king employed himself in private devotion with Dr. Juxon. In the course of the day a book of proposals from the grandees of the army and parliament was tendered to him, on his signing which they promised him his life and regal state. By this he was to put the militia into their hands, with power to keep it at its present

amount, and to lay a tax on the kingdom for its pay to be levied by the army itself. Charles, it is said, threw it indignantly aside, declaring that he would rather become a sacrifice for his people than thus betray their laws and liberties, lives and estates, to the bondage of an armed faction.

On Monday (29th) the king was removed to St. James's, whither his two children the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester were brought to him from Sion-house. As was to be expected from the strength of Charles's domestic affections, the meeting was a most tender one. He gave them a few presents, charged the princess to assure her mother of his unceasing affection, and told her that "his death was glorious, for he should die for the laws and liberties of the land; he should die a martyr." His nephew the elector palatine, the duke of Richmond, the marquess of Hertford and other noblemen came to the chamber-door, requesting admission to take their last farewell of their sovereign, but Charles declined seeing them, wishing to devote the little time that remained to him to his children and his devotions.

Ambassadors sent from Holland to intercede for the king had an audience, but no answer from the houses this day. They had been accompanied by sir John Seymour, the bearer of letters from the prince to the king and the lord-general; with the last was sent a blank paper, signed and sealed, on which the grandees might set their own terms. This, however, produced no effect; the warrant was signed by fifty-nine commissioners, and directed to the colonels Hacker, Hunks and Phayer. It is said, that as Cromwell was advancing to the table with the pen in his hand to sign it, he drew the pen across Marten's face and marked him with the ink, and that Marten returned the compliment.

During the last night of his life Charles slept soundly for four hours. About two hours before dawn he opened his curtains, and by the light of 'a great cake of wax set in a

silver basin,' he saw that Herbert's rest was disturbed. He awoke him; Herbert said he had been dreaming that Laud had entered the room and knelt before the king, that they conversed, the king looked pensive, Laud sighed, and as he retired fell prostrate on the ground. "It is very remarkable," said Charles; "but he is dead; had we now conferred together, 'tis very likely—albeit I loved him well—I should have said something to him might have occasioned his sigh." He then said he would rise, "for he had a great work to do that day." Herbert trembled as he combed his hair. "Though it be not long to stand on my shoulders," said the king, "take the same pains with it as you were wont to do. Herbert, this is my second marriage-day; I would be as trim as may be." He put on a second shirt; "for," said he, "the season is sharp, and probably may make me shake, which some will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not death, death is not terrible to me. I bless my God, I am prepared; let the rogues come." When dressed, he spent an hour in private with the bishop.

At ten o'clock Colonel Hacker announced that it was time to proceed to Whitehall. Charles went on foot at his usual quick pace through the park, calling to the guard, "March on apace!" He was conducted to his own bed-chamber at Whitehall; sir John Seymour was there admitted to present him the prince's letter. A repast had been prepared; as he had received the Eucharist he declined taking any other food in this world, but at the suggestion of the bishop he ate about noon half a manchet and drank a glass of claret. Soon after Hacker came with the warrant and called for the king. Charles rose, and with Hacker, Tomlinson (whom he had entreated not to quit him) and the bishop, proceeded through the long gallery, which was lined with soldiers, whose faces testified their respect and sorrow. Through the central window of the banqueting-house he stepped out on the scaffold, which was hung with black; two executioners in masks

stood on it; regiments of horse and foot were stationed beneath; the streets were thronged with anxious spectators. Charles looked toward St. James's with a smile; he then regarded earnestly the block, and asked "if there were no place higher?"

He addressed himself to those about him on the scaffold, justifying himself, and referring to dates of commissions and declarations to prove that it was the parliament began the war; yet he hoped that they too might be guiltless, as there had been ill instruments between him and them. He owned, however, that he suffered justly, as an unjust sentence which he had allowed to take effect was now punished by an unjust sentence on himself. He proceeded to show them how they were "out of the way" in what they were doing, and exhorted them to give God, the king and the people their due. The liberty of the last, he said, consisted not in having a share in the government, but "in laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own." "Sirs," said he, "it was for this that I am now come here. If I would have given way to an arbitrary way for to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here, and therefore I tell you that *I am the martyr of the people.*" At the desire of the bishop he declared that he died a member of the church of England.

Though Charles did not fear death, he disliked pain. He interrupted his speech when one touched the axe, and said, "Hurt not the axe that may hurt me"; when another approached it, he cried, "Take heed of the axe! take heed of the axe!" and turning to Hacker, he said, "Take care that they do not put me to pain." To the executioner he said, "I shall say but very short prayers and then thrust out my hands."

Having taken a white satin cap from the bishop and put his hair up under it, he said, "I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side." "There is but one stage more," said the prelate; "this stage is turbulent and troublesome;

it is a short one, but you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you shall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.”—“I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be.”—“You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown, a good exchange.” The king gave his cloak and George to the prelate, saying, *Remember*. He knelt down, gave the sign, and one blow of the axe terminated his mortal existence. A deep groan arose from the multitude, and many ran to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, but two troops of horse were set in motion to clear the streets. The royal corpse, after being embalmed, was deposited at Windsor, in the vault which contained the remains of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour*.

In this manner perished Charles Stuart, in the forty-ninth year of his age, by a sentence hitherto unexampled in the annals of the world. In his person Charles was vigorous and handsome; his health was robust, and he was capable of enduring great fatigue. His aspect was pensive, he had a slight hesitation in his speech, and his general manner was cold and ungracious. When we consider the profligacy of the court in which he was brought up, we may well wonder at the general purity of his morals, and admire in him the force of nature. At the same time, we must not, with his idolaters, pretend that he had escaped all pollution. He was not, for example, free from the common vice of profane swearing, and his language was at times very indelicate†. Like all of his race, Charles bore adversity better than prosperity. Affliction gave a lustre to his character; he gained the respect and sincere attachment of those who like Herbert were set about him by the

* See Appendix (L).

† See lady Sunderland's letter. Such however it is probable was not his habit, for Lilly says that “he was never obscene in his speech or affected it in others.” The same writer informs us that Charles was not strictly faithful to his queen, who, he adds, did not wink at his transgressions. “I do not hear,” says he, “of above one or two natural children he had or left behind him.” Bishop Jeremy Taylor, it is said, was married to one of Charles's daughters.

parliament, and certainly the man who could do so could not have been originally unamiable. Charles was also sincerely religious, but his religion was of too ceremonial a cast, and akin to superstition. Had he been born in a private station, it is probable that he would have been respected by every one, though loved perhaps by few. He had, however, greater defects than any yet alluded to. He was uxorious, and scandalously subservient to a worthless, selfish woman; he was by nature a despot, though not a tyrant. In his despotism, however, both in church and state, he conceived himself to be only exercising the just authority with which God had invested him; and it will be difficult to point out any of his acts which had not the sanction either of positive law, or of the practice of former kings and the ancient prerogative of the crown. But the great blemish in the character of this unhappy prince was his insincerity*. When his fancied rights and prerogative were in question, neither his word nor his oath could be trusted; he had an unfortunate system of casuistry which released him from the most solemn obligations; in his eyes truth and honour were as nothing compared with the duty of ruling uncontrolled as a vicegerent of the Deity. It was this blemish, beyond doubt, which mainly caused his untimely fate. How strange is the course of human affairs! the despot Charles actually died, as he said, the martyr of the constitution!

If murder be the deliberate taking away of human life without the sentence of a previously recognised law, then was the execution of king Charles a murder in the fullest sense of the term. The solemn mockery of the forms of justice used on the occasion only adds to its atrocity; for surely none of his judges could have contemplated the giving him a fair trial. Such supposes the possibility of the prisoner's proving his innocence; but had Charles's self-

* Hume could hardly have been serious when he wrote as follows:—"Some historians have rashly questioned the good faith of this prince; but for this reproach the most malignant scrutiny of his conduct, which in every circumstance is now thoroughly known, affords not any reasonable foundation."

constituted judges acquitted him, they must at the same time have condemned themselves; for if *he* was innocent, what were *they* but rebels and traitors*? To call themselves the representatives of the people of England, and to act in their names, was the very summit of audacity. The people of England were guiltless of the blood of their sovereign, which was shed by a knot of military men, anxious to secure their own power or safety. Many of the so-called judges acted under the influence of fear, and secretly abhorred the deed which was forced on them. There were some, no doubt, whose motives were pure; such was Hutchinson, who sought counsel of the Lord in prayer, and finding no check (as none such we believe ever do) conceived what he did to be approved by Heaven. Others, like Ludlow, bent on having a commonwealth, would see no excuse for the king, assumed his guilt, and took the municipal law of the Israelites for their guide and justification. It may even be true that Cromwell himself was in this number, and that he believed himself to be acting rightly †.

Shortly after the execution of the king, there appeared a work named *Ikon Basiliké*, or a 'Portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his Solitude and his Sufferings,' said to be written by the king himself. It passed through fifty editions in the course of a twelvemonth, and is held to have been of essential service to the royal cause. It is, however, but a poor performance, and is not the composition of the king. Its author is known to have been Dr. Gauden, who obtained a bishoprick on account of it after the Restoration. The illustrious Milton was employed by the parliament to answer it; his reply is named *Iconoclastes*, or, 'Image-breaker ‡.'

* "I tell you," said Cromwell to Algernon Sidney, "we will cut off his head with the crown on it." This was early in the month of January; so the faction had already determined what they would do.

† See Appendix (M). We would by the way recommend those among our Dissenters who wish to express their approbation of the deed, to choose some less disgusting mode of doing so than that of dining on a calf's head on the anniversary of the day on which the king's head was cut off.

‡ See Appendix (N).

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

THE following notes, accidentally mislaid, should have been inserted in their proper places :—

Page 356. line 2.—When lord Nithisdale was sent down in 1628 to procure the surrender of the church-lands, the principal possessors of them held a consultation, in which it was resolved, if they could succeed in no other way, to murder him and his friends after the old Scottish fashion. Lord Belhaven, who was blind, had himself set by the earl of Dumfries, whom he grasped firmly with one hand, pretending that ever since his calamity he was so much afraid of falling, that he always held thus by whoever was next him; he had, meantime, a poniard in the other ready to stab him. Nithisdale, however, did not venture to open his instructions.—Burnet, Own Times, i. 36.

Page 378. line 34.—"It was daily," says Baillie, "the most glorious assembly the isle could afford; yet the gravity not such as I expected." "After ten," he adds, "much public eating, not only of confections, but of flesh and bread, bottles of beer and wine going thick from mouth to mouth without cups, and all this in the king's eye."

Page 381. line 36.—Wariston, one of the Scottish commissioners, writes on the 2nd of April: "Strafford's business is yet but in the 15th article. The lower house, if they see that the king gains many of the upper house not to condemn him, will make a bill of *teinture* [attainder] and condemnation formally in their own house," &c. See Dalrymple, ii. 117.

Page 384. line 11.—There is reason however to think that Digby had been already gained by the court, as a copy of an important paper which had been subtracted during the trial, was found in the king's cabinet at Naseby, in the hand-writing of Digby.

Page 387. line 14.—As this was sworn (June 2) after Strafford's death, we have only Balfour's word for its truth. May (p. 65) says the match proposed was the earl's own daughter.

Page 388. line 12.—The commons on a similar occasion showed themselves more generous. When, with a view to embarrassing the king, they petitioned for the execution of one Goodman and other popish priests, Goodman petitioned the house, praying that he might be executed rather than be the occasion of difference between them and the king. Charles left the matter to the house, and none were executed.

Page 390. line 3.—"He died justly before God and man," says Hallam, "though we may deem the precedent dangerous, and the better course of a magnanimous lenity unwisely rejected; and in condemning the bill of attainder we cannot look upon it as a crime." Much as we respect this writer, we

cannot agree with these sentiments; we think there is something of crime in inflicting a greater penalty where a less might serve, and in taking life where no positive law had been transgressed. "Nothing," says Fox (Hist. of James II., p. 10), in the spirit of true political wisdom, "but a case of clear self-defence can justify a departure from the sacred principles of justice; but whenever an individual can be brought to trial, he is within the power of his prosecutors; and, therefore, when there has been no law distinctly provided against the species of offence of which he is accused, the present delinquent should be allowed to escape, and a legislative enactment be made to meet the crime in future."

Page 393. line 21.—The influence of Laud had procured him this office in pursuance of his plan of making the church what it had been in the state. "Now if the church will not uphold themselves under God, I can do no more," is the reflection this ill-judging man makes on this occasion in his Diary; and he writes to Strafford, "We begin to live here in the church triumphant; and there wants but one more to keep the king's conscience [i. e. to be chancellor] to make up a triumvirate."

Page 394. line 36.—Great confusion has arisen from jumbling, as Clarendon does, this with the former army-plot. He heedlessly assigns this petition to the former, and as in such case it contains anachronisms, Mr. Brodie boldly accuses him of forging it.

Page 428. line 15.—Brodie (iii. 336.) sneers at lord Falkland for his share in this "melancholy picture of insincerity, nay, downright perfidy." He should have inquired if those who now sat at Westminster were regarded at York as *the* parliament.

Page 431. line 8.—On the breaking out of the war, sir William Waller wrote to his "noble friend" sir Ralph Hopton in the following terms: "My affections to you are so unchangeable, that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person, but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. . . . The great God, who is the searcher of my heart, knows with what reluctance I go upon this service, and with what perfect hatred I look upon a war without an enemy. But I look upon it as *opus Domini*, and that is enough to silence all passion in me. The God of peace in his good time send us peace, and in the meantime fit us to receive it! We are both on the stage, and we must act the parts that are assigned us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honour, and without personal animosities."

Page 436. line 13.—"It was," says Hallam, "not only an insolence which a king less uxorious than Charles could never pardon; but a violation of the primary laws and moral sentiments that preserve human society, to which the queen was acting in obedience. Scarce any proceeding of the Long Parliament seems more odious than this; whether designed by way of intimidation, or to exasperate the king and render the composure of existing differences more impracticable."

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX.

A, page 1.

AUTHORITIES.

RYMER's *Fœdera*, the Journals of the two Houses of Parliament, the Parliamentary History, the Statutes, the State Trials, the Hardwicke Papers, and Ellis's Original Letters, are general authorities for the period contained in the present volume.

The authorities for particular portions of it are as follows :

Burnet's History of the Reformation, and Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, and his Lives of Cranmer and his successors, extend through the reigns of Henry VIII. and his children. The chroniclers, Halle, Speed, Stow, Grafton, and Holingshed, narrate the events of these reigns, which are also related by bishop Godwin. Lord Herbert of Cherbury has written the history of the reign of Henry VIII.; Hayward, that of Edward VI.; and Camden, that of Elizabeth.

The various collections of the letters of princes, ministers, noblemen, and others, preserved in public or private archives, furnish valuable materials for the history of the Tudor princes. Such are the State Papers (now in course of publication), the Sidney Papers, and the various collections of the Burghley and other Papers, edited by Murdin, Haynes, Lodge, Digges, and others. The Scottish and continental historians, and the despatches of the foreign ambassadors also supply materials*.

The reign of James I. has been written by Wilson, and the Memorials of secretary Winwood contain much important matter; Weldon and Osborne furnish many particulars; Lord Bacon is also an authority. The lately published Diary of bishop Goodman notices the events of this and the preceding reign. Coke's Detection extends to the Revolution.

The events of the important reign of Charles I. are to be found in Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and the Clarendon State Papers; Whitelock's Memorials, Rushworth's, Nalson's, Scobel's, Husband's, and Thurloe's Collections; the Strafford and Sidney Papers, May's History of the Parliament, Dugdale's Short View, Hobbes's Behemoth, Baillie's Letters, Ludlow's Memoirs, the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, the Narratives of

* These commence with those of the bishop of Bayonne in the reign of Henry VIII. A portion of those of La Mothe Fenelon have been lately published by Mr. Charles Purton Cooper, who announces his intention of publishing all those of the French ambassadors during the 16th century.

Berkeley, Ashburnham, Fairfax, Herbert, and others; Leicester's Journal, Slingsby's Diary, Baxter's Life and Times, Neal's History of the Puritans, Mede's Letters, Hacket's Life of Williams, and Heylin's Life of Laud, and this last Prelate's Life and Troubles; Carte's Life of Ormond, &c. &c.

The histories of Rapin, Carte, Echard, Oldmixon, and Kennet, though not written till the 18th century, are also authorities for these times, as the writers of them had sometimes the means of acquiring information which no longer exists. New sources for the history of the 16th and 17th centuries are however springing up every day, by the publication of letters and documents contained in the State Paper Office, the British Museum, and other public repositories, and in the libraries of private families.

B, page 6.

QUEEN CATHERINE.

"Catherine," says Sanders, "used to rise at midnight, to join in the nocturnal prayers of the religious. She dressed herself as quickly as possible at five in the morning, saying frequently that she lost no time but only this in which she attired herself. She wore under her royal dress the habit of St. Francis, to whose third order she had ascribed herself (*sese ascripserat*). She fasted every Friday and Saturday; on all the vigils of the blessed Mary she lived on nothing but bread and water. On Wednesdays and Fridays she confessed her sins to a priest. She also received the Eucharist on Sundays; she recited daily the Office of the Blessed Virgin; she spent six hours of the morning in the church engaged in holy offices. From dinner time, for about two hours, she read the lives of the saints, her maids standing by; then going back to the church she remained there till about the time of supper, which she took most sparingly. She always prayed on her bended knees, without a cushion or anything else between her and the pavement. Who now can wonder if so holy a woman was to be tried by some greater fire of tribulation, that the odour of her virtues might be more easily diffused through the whole Christian world?"

We will here take occasion to say a few words in justification of our charge of falsehood (p. 11) against queen Catherine.

That illustrious lady appealed to Henry himself if he had not found her a true maid; it is not said that he denied the fact; and Pole, in his letter to Henry, says, "*Tu ipse hoc fassus es, virginem te accepisse, et Cæsari fassus es, cui minime expediebat, si tum de divortio cogitares, hoc fateri.*" Lingard, who quotes this passage (vi. 2), adds from Peter Martyr, that such was the opinion in Spain, "*Est opinio sponsum primum intactam, quia invalidus erat, ætate non matura, reliquisse;*" and from Sanford, that she was married with the ceremonies appropriated to maids, namely, dressed in white and her hair hanging loose.

Against this there is the positive testimony of four different persons, as to the language used by prince Arthur the morning after his marriage, and the general belief (mentioned by Wolsey to the queen's almoner) that his marriage had been the cause of his premature death. There is, moreover, the fact, also stated by Wolsey, of Henry's not being allowed to take the title of Prince of Wales for some months after his brother's death*. To these we may add, that the appeal to Henry's own knowledge, and his confession, seem to be of little weight, as, after being married to two wives of whose virginity there could be no doubt, he was completely deceived by Catherine Howard. When we also take into consideration the importance of the matter to Catherine and her nephew the emperor, and the doctrine of the end sanctioning the means, we cannot avoid feeling disposed to give judgement against the queen.

D, page 32.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Of the superstition of this eminent man the following proofs occur:—

Erasmus notices his tendency that way. He always wore a hair shirt next his skin, and "he used sometimes," says Roper, "to punish his body with whips, the cords knotted." When he was chancellor, the duke of Norfolk coming one day to dine with him at Chelsea, found him at church with a surplice on him, singing in the quire. "God's body! God's body! my lord chancellor," cried the duke, "a parish clerk, a parish clerk—you dishonour the king and his office." "Nay," replied he, "your Grace may not think that the king your master and mine will with me, for serving of God his master, be offended, or thereby count his office dishonoured." It was a matter of the greatest comfort that he was to die on the eve of St. Thomas à Becket, his patron saint. "I comber you, good Margaret, much," writes he to his daughter, "but I would be sorry if it should be any longer than tomorrow. For it is St. Thomas' even, and the Utas (Octave) of St. Peter; and therefore tomorrow long I to go to God. It were a day very meet and convenient for me."

According to the veracious Sanders, the following miracle was wrought on the occasion of the death of More. Early on the morning of it, his daughter Margaret went round the churches, giving alms to the poor. Recollecting that she had forgotten to fetch a shroud, she proposed to buy some linen, but found that all her money was gone. By the advice of her maid she resolved to try to get it on credit, and going into a shop agreed for a piece. She then put her hand into her pocket, in order to be able to say that unfortunately she was without money, but lo! there she found the exact sum required, not one farthing more or less.

* Not till the February of the following year according to Bacon.

E, page 41.

ANNE BOLEYN.

We will commence our remarks on the story of this unfortunate lady with Sanders's account of her, which is certainly a most admirable specimen of popish mendacity. She was, he asserts, the daughter of lady Boleyn by Henry VIII. during her husband's absence on an embassy in France, whither Henry had sent him with this design*. While Henry was carrying on his adulterous intercourse with lady Boleyn he cast an eye of lust on her elder daughter Mary, whom on the return of sir T. Boleyn he took to court and made his mistress. Sir Francis Brian, a relation of the Boleyns, on being asked by Henry his opinion of such a connexion, said it was only like eating the hen first and then the chicken. The king laughed, and said to him he was truly his Vicar of Hell, a title Brian had long had for his impiety. As for Anne, Sanders says she was no great beauty, as she had a projecting tooth, a sallow complexion, as if she had the jaundice, a kind of wen under her chin, and a sixth finger on her right hand. At fifteen years of age she intrigued with the butler and chaplain. She was then sent to France, to be educated at the king's expense, and soon after she went to the French court, where she led so profligate a life that she was called the English Hackney and the Royal Mule. On her return to England, when she became the object of the king's affection, she took example by the fate of her mother and sister, and affected the most rigid chastity. In vain did sir T. Boleyn remind Henry that she was his own daughter, in vain did sir T. Wyat declare before the parliament that he himself was a favoured lover, and offered to give the most convincing proofs of her infamy: the king was not to be diverted from his intention of marrying her. She afterwards attempted to poison bishop Fisher. Finally, when she despaired of having a son by the king, and at the same time was resolved to be the mother of a king, she committed incest with her own brother, and then adultery with Norris and the others.

The first question which we will consider is, whether there be any truth in the tale of Mary Boleyn having been the mistress of Henry; and as great stress is laid by Lingard on the testimony of cardinal Pole, on which the truth of it chiefly rests, we will here observe that Pole was an upright and conscientious, but a weak, credulous, and passionate man. What he asserts he believed, but it does not follow by any means that it is true.

* Sanders relates this on the authority of Mr. Justice Rastall, the nephew of sir T. More. It suffices for its confutation to observe that Anne was born in 1507 before Henry had completed his sixteenth year, and two years before he came to the throne.

Among the charges made against Henry by Pole, in his letter to him, is that of having violated and then retained as his mistress Mary Boleyn, the elder sister of Anne: "Didicerat (Anne) opinor si nulla alia ex re, vel sororis suæ exemplo, quam cito te concubinarum tuarum satietas cepit. Soror ejus est (Anne) quam tu violasti primum et diu postea concubinæ loco apud te habuisti. Ab eodem pontifice magna vi contendebas ut tibi liceret ducere sororem ejus quæ concubina tua fuisset." Herbert gives a dispensation, granted by Clement in 1527, for Henry's marriage, which, if it be genuine, would seem evidently to allude to something of this kind, for it says, "Etiam si illa tibi alias secundo aut remotiore consanguinitatis aut *primo affinitatis gradu*, etiam ex quocunque licito seu *illicito* coitu proveniente invicem conjuncta sit dummodo relicta fratris tui non fuerit." Herbert would seem to have thought but slightly of this document, for he speaks of it in the following terms: "After all which (documents) a dispensation written by a later hand and in loose paper was found in the said book; though that alone should not have induced me to publish it, had I not seen it already printed in a book called *Anti-Sanderus*, and met in our archives some dispatches that make it probable." If then this dispensation be genuine, and if Pole's information be correct, for he certainly never invented the story, Dr. Lingard is probably justified in supposing that this illicit affinity was the 'just and legal impediment' assented to by Anne's proctors, and the ground of the divorce pronounced by Cranmer*.

Mary Boleyn, it appears, was married to William Carey, of the privy chamber, on the 31st of January, 1520-1521, in the presence of Henry (Lingard, vi. 110). This writer is evidently right in supposing that it was Anne and not Mary that it was proposed at this time to marry to the son of sir Piers Butler, in order to terminate the dispute between him and sir Thomas Boleyn for the Ormond property. Surrey (Boleyn's brother-in-law) and the Council of Ireland, where Surrey was lord-deputy, wrote, on the 6th of October, 1520, urging it on Wolsey; and Henry, in a letter to Surrey, without date, says, "We shall advance the said matter with our comptroller (Boleyn), and certify you how we shall find him accordingly." Wolsey, writing to the king from Calais in November, 1521, says, "I shall, at my return to your presence, devise with your grace how the marriage betwixt him (young Butler) and Sir Thomas Boleyn's daughter may be brought to pass." (State Papers, i. 91: ii. 50, 57). Lingard says, that "the plan was approved by Henry *after some hesitation*;" but of this hesitation we find no proof whatever in his letter. As we shall presently see, it seems probable that Anne was called home from France on account of it; and possibly the design held for some time, for Wolsey, when remonstrating with young Percy, said that the king "intended to have preferred her unto another person with whom the king hath travailed already, and being almost at a point with the same

* See Lingard, vi. 129, 147, 395.

person, although she knoweth it not; yet hath the king, most like a politic and prudent prince, conveyed the matter in such sort, that she, upon the king's motion, will be, I doubt not, right glad and agreeable to the same." Cavendish, it is true, supposes that it was Henry himself that was meant, but he probably reasoned from the event. Wolsey, at that time (probably 1523), could have known nothing of Henry's affection for Anne, nor is it likely that that affection had as yet commenced.

This brings us to the question of the date of Anne's return from France. Cavendish says she returned after the death of queen Claude, which occurred in 1524. Camden and Spelman make her pass from the service of Claude to that of the duchess of Alençon, sister of Francis, and Herbert agrees with them. According to him she was about *twenty*, according to Camden *twenty-two* years of age, when she returned; and as she was born in 1507, her return would therefore be in 1527, supposing Camden to have made some mistake. But Herbert positively states, on the authority of Du Tillet, and "our records," that "about the time when our students at Paris were remanded (1522), she likewise left France, her parents not thinking fit to suffer her to stay there any longer." The projected marriage with young Butler exactly accords with this date, and gives an adequate cause for her recall. Moreover, Dr. Lingard (p. 112) says he has in his possession the copy of a letter from lord Surrey to lord Darcy, "scribbled the 12th day of September," 1523, in which he says, "the mariage of my lorde Percy shal be wt my lorde stewards (Shrewsbury's) daghter, wherof I am right glade, and so I am sure ye be. Now the cheff baron is with my lorde of Northumberland to conclude the mariage." Percy, as Lingard justly observes, must therefore have been married in the end of 1523 or beginning of 1524. On the whole, therefore, we think there can be little doubt that the true date of Anne's return is 1522. She was only in her fifteenth year at that time. When the king's love for her commenced is uncertain; from his letters to her, printed by Hearne at the end of his Avesbury, Dr. Lingard infers that "it must have begun, at the latest, in the summer of 1526, probably much earlier," but in this he is not fully borne out by the passage which he quotes. By the dates in his last edition (pp. 112, 113) he rather disingenuously seems to fix it in 1525. At all events, this much would seem to be certain, that Henry never spoke of a divorce till he had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn.

The origin of the divorce was, as we have seen, generally ascribed to the cardinal; but Pole, unsupported by any other authority, gives it to Anne herself. "*Illa ipsa*," says he, "*sacerdotes suos, graves theologos, quasi pignora promptæ voluntatis misit, qui non modo tibi licere affirmarent uxorem dimittere, sed graviter etiam peccare dicerent quod punctum ullum temporis eam retineres; ac nisi continuo repudiaries, gravissimam Dei offensionem denuntiarent. Hic primus totius fabulæ exorsus fuit.*" Dr. Lingard regards this as the true account, as Pole, he says,

"writing to the king on such a subject would hardly venture to assert what, if it were not true, Henry must have known to be false." Lord Herbert, however, did not rate Pole's authority so highly. "As this cardinal," says he, "was so near in blood to divers whom the king put to death, he may be thought perchance more partial than to be believed every where; neither will it satisfy all men that he pretends, in more than one place, to have known even so much as the king's thoughts, (by revelation)." It is surely not very likely that a gay volatile girl, of *nineteen* or *twenty*, should have "grave theologians" at her devotion. Cranmer, the person who seems principally alluded to, was unknown to Henry till 1529. The whole tale, in fine, is highly improbable, and is at variance with all the other authorities.

Throughout the whole of his letters to Henry and others, Pole hints not a suspicion of the virtue of Anne having given way, and he frequently speaks of her unyielding chastity: yet Dr. Lingard (p. 188) says, under the date of 1532, "three years (had rolled away) since he began to cohabit with Anne Boleyn," and assigns as the true cause of Henry's patience, "the infecundity of Anne, which had hitherto disappointed his most anxious wish, to provide for the succession to the throne." In a note he observes, "This charge of cohabitation has given offence; yet, if there were no other authority, the very case itself would justify it. A young woman of one-and-twenty listens to declarations of love from a married man, who has already seduced her sister, and on his promise to abstain from his wife, and to marry her, she quits her paternal home and consents to live with him under the same roof, where for three years she is constantly in his company, at meals, in his journeys, on occasions of ceremony, and at parties of pleasure. Can it betray any great want of candour to dispute the innocence of such intimacy between the two lovers?" The following remark of Mackintosh, perhaps, gives a sufficient answer to him: "No pregnancy accrued from the first acquaintance till near or after the marriage, a circumstance which cannot be referred to any defect in the constitution of a lady who was twice brought to bed within little more than two years after the time of marriage." In Lingard's statement, moreover, there are some unfounded assertions: Anne, for example, did not "quit her paternal home," for she had been all along at the court; of the "promise to abstain from his wife" there is no proof, and we have reason to believe that Anne's father or brother was always of the party when Henry and she went about. The bishop of Bayonne no doubt, in his rattling way, writes, in June, 1529, "*Je me doute forte que depuis quelque temps ce roi ait approché bien près de Mademoiselle Anne;*" and Wolsey in the following year alludes to her as the *night-crow*. But these are not proofs sufficient to justify such positive assertions.

Our conclusions on the whole are, that Henry had no predilection for Anne until some years after her return from France; that she retained

her chastity before marriage, and that she lived and died a virtuous and a faithful wife.

E (2), page 346.

LAUD'S SUPERSTITION.

The following account of this prelate's mode of consecrating churches is given by Rushworth (ii. 76, 77):—

“ St. Katherine-Creed church, being lately repaired, was suspended from all divine service, sermons, and sacraments, till it was consecrated. Wherefore Dr. Laud, Lord Bishop of London, on the 16th of January, (1631,) being the Lord's-day, came thither in the morning to consecrate the same. Now, because great exceptions were taken at the formality thereof, we will briefly relate the manner of the consecration.

“ At the bishop's approach to the west door of the church, some that were prepared for it cried with a loud voice, *Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may enter in!* and presently the doors were opened, and the bishop, with some doctors and many other principal men, went in, and immediately falling down upon his knees, with his eyes lifted up and his arms spread abroad, uttered these words: *This place is holy, the ground is holy. In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy.*

“ Then he took up some of the dust, and threw it up into the air several times in his going up towards the chancel. When they approached near to the rail and communion-table, the bishop bowed toward it several times, and returning, they went round the church in procession, saying the 100th Psalm, after that the 19th Psalm, and then said a form of prayer, *Lord Jesus, &c.*, and concluding, *We consecrate this church and separate it unto Thee as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common use.*

“ After this, the bishop being near the communion-table, and taking a written book in his hand, pronounced curses upon those that should afterwards prophane that holy place, by musters of soldiers, or keeping prophane law-courts, or carrying burdens through it, and at the end of every curse he bowed toward the east and said, *Let all the people say Amen.*

“ After this followed the sermon, which being ended, the bishop consecrated and administered the sacrament in manner following:

“ As he approached the communion-table he made many several lowly bowings, and coming up to the side of the table where the bread and wine were covered, he bowed *seven* times, and then, after the reading of many prayers, he came near the bread, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin, wherein the bread was laid, and when he beheld the bread he laid it down again, flew back a step or two, bowed *three* several times towards it, then he drew near again and opened the napkin and bowed as before.

"Then he laid his hand on the cup, which was full of wine, with a cover upon it, which he let go again, went back and bowed thrice towards it; then he came near again, and lifting up the cover of the cup looked into it, and seeing the wine he let fall the cover again, retired back and bowed as before; then he received the sacrament, and gave it to some principal men; after which many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended."

F, page 405.

THE IRISH REBELLION.

The first question here is, had the king any knowledge of the meditated rising of the Irish or not? The chief evidence against him is the Information, as it is called, of the earl of Antrim in 1651, according to which Charles had given a commission to him and Ormond to keep together the army raised by Strafford, to augment it to 20,000 men, and to seize the castle of Dublin and the arms laid up in it for the royal service. This is so very like the king's own conduct in the affair of Hull, that we see little reason to doubt of its truth, and it tends to prove that in the summer of 1641, Charles had taken his resolution to reduce the English parliament by force of arms.

But the Irish catholics also produced a commission from the king, dated at Edinburgh on the 1st of October, 1641, authorising them to assemble and meet together, to possess themselves of all the forts, castles, and places of strength, and *to arrest and seize to his use the goods, estates, and persons, of all the English protestants* in Ireland. Of this commission the authenticity has been justly disputed. It is hardly possible that Charles could have directed the seizure of the persons and properties of his protestant subjects, and there is an assertion contained in it which could hardly be made at that time, namely, that the English parliament had "possessed themselves of the whole strength of the kingdom, in appointing governors, commanders, and officers, in all parts and places therein at their own will and pleasure." It is also justly observed by Dr. Lingard, that "it was never appealed to by the rebels in any of their remonstrances or apologies." Mr. Brodie argues strenuously in favour of its genuineness, but we still regard it as a forgery, and one of those lies to which political parties so frequently have recourse. Charles wished, no doubt, to have an Irish army at his devotion, but he certainly never could have authorised the destruction of the English interest in Ireland.

The next question is, what was the number of the protestants massacred? The general belief in England was, as we have seen, that it amounted to 200,000. Milton raises it even to 600,000, but he made his calculation in an erroneous manner. Lord Clarendon, who, it should be remembered, must have had his information from the duke of Ormond, a man not likely to be misinformed, says, in his Short View of

the State of Ireland (p. 9), that the Irish catholics, "with most barbarous circumstances of cruelty, within the space of less than ten days, murdered an incredible number of protestants, men, women, and children, promiscuously, and without distinction of age or sex." In his *History of the Rebellion* (ii. 19), he says that "a general insurrection of the Irish spread itself over the whole country, in such an inhuman and barbarous manner, that there were 40,000 or 50,000 of the English protestants murdered before they suspected themselves to be in any danger, or could provide for their defence by drawing together into towns or strong houses."

Sir William Petty made some calculations in his *Political Arithmetic*, by which he reduced the number to 37,000. P. Walsh, the advocate of the catholics, made it only 8000. Warner, after examining the depositions, states the whole number "killed by the rebels *out of war*, not at the beginning only, but in the course of the two first years of the rebellion," amounted to 4028, to which he says may be added about 8000 more killed by ill usage.

Dr. Lingard almost outdoes himself here. He treats the accounts in Clarendon, May, and others, as "rhetorical flourishes." "They are not," he says, "founded on authentic documents. They lead the reader to suppose that the rebels had formed a plan to surprise and murder all the protestant inhabitants; whereas, the fact was, that they sought to recover the lands which, in the last and in the present reign, had been taken from them and given to the English planters. They warned the intruders to be gone; they expelled them from the plantations; they seized their goods, and burnt their houses. That in the prosecution of this object, many lives would be lost on both sides is evident. As early as October 27, colonel Crawford killed 300 Irish with his cavalry, without the loss of a man; and on the 28th, colonel Matthews slaughtered above 150 more, 'starting them like hares out of the bushes;' and, on the other hand, many insulated acts of murder by the rebels, prompted chiefly by the revenge of individuals, occurred." He then, in proof of his assertion that no general massacre was intended or made, quotes passages from the despatches of the lords justices, during the months of October, November, and December. He further infers, from a commission issued by them January 18, 1643, that even then they were "ignorant of any general or even extensive massacre."

Dr. Lingard has, however, carefully omitted the following passages. In their despatch to the king (Nov. 5) the lords justices say, that the rebels "had already slain very many most barbarously, hewed some to pieces, and exposed thousands to beggary, who had good estates and lived plenteously." In their commission to Lord Gormanstown, early in the same month, they speak of the rebels having "most inhumanly made destruction and devastation of the persons and estates of his majesty's good and loyal subjects of this kingdom, and taken, slain, and imprisoned great numbers of them." In the proclamation issued by the

king, at their desire (Jan. 1, 1642), it is asserted that the rebels had "robbed and spoiled many thousands of our good subjects of the British nation, and protestants of their goods to great values, *massacred multitudes of them,*" &c. Whitelock also states, that "the miserable Englishmen, women, and children, whom the rebels took, were savagely butchered by them."

We know not what Dr. Lingard's definition of a massacre may be, but we should be inclined to apply the term to proceedings like those alluded to. We share Mr. Hallam's opinion of Dr. Lingard's attempt "to disprove, by mere scraps of quotation, an event of such notoriety that we must abandon all faith in public fame if it were really unfounded."

G, page 434.

BATTLE OF EDGEHILL.

In order not to break the continuity of the narrative, we have reserved the following anecdotes and remarks for this place.

"Lindsey," says sir Philip Warwick, "made a most excellent, pious, short, and soldierly prayer; for he lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, saying, 'O Lord! thou knowest how busy I must be this day; if I forget thee, do not thou forget me.' And with that he rose up, crying, 'March on, boys!'"

Clarendon (Life, i. 160) tells us that sir Edmund Verney, who fell in this battle, said to him about two months before, "For my part I do not like the quarrel, and do heartily wish that the king would yield and consent to what they desire; so that my conscience is only concerned in honour and in gratitude to follow my master. I have eaten his bread, and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake him; and choose rather to lose my life (which I am sure I shall do), to preserve and defend those things which are against my conscience to preserve and defend; for I will deal freely with you, I have no reverence for the bishops for whom this quarrel subsists." That these sentiments were shared by many honourable men, is clear from the earl of Sunderland's letter in the Sidney Papers (ii. 667), and the Diary of sir Henry Slingsby. Nothing can be more unjust than to represent, as is so commonly done, the whole body of the royalists as a godless, profane, dissolute crew.

Ludlow (i. 42) gives the following account of the recovery of the royal standard: "I saw," says he, "Lieut.-col. Middleton, then a reformado in our army, displaying the king's standard, which he had taken. But a party of horse coming on us, we were obliged to retire with our standard; and having brought it to the earl of Essex, he delivered it to the custody of one Mr. Chambers, his secretary, from whom it was taken by one Capt. Smith, who, with two more, disguising themselves with orange-coloured scarfs, (the Earl of Essex's colours,) and pretending it

unfit that a penman should have the honour to carry the standard, took it from him and rode with it to the king, for which action he was knighted."

It is very doubtful what was the real number of the slain in this battle. May (p. 172) says, that in the speeches made, and books printed by both parties, "there is no consent at all concerning the number of men slain, but so great a discrepancy as it is almost a shame to insert into a history." Clarendon, Whitelock, and most others, give the number in the text; but the duke of York, who, though a boy, was present, says (*Life of James II.*, i. 17), that, according to the best information, "there were not above 1500 bodies of both parties remaining on the field;" and Gough, in his additions to Camden's *Britannia* (ii. 333), without naming his authority, says, "by a survey made by Mr. Fisher, vicar of Keinton, by order of the earl of Essex, the number of the slain was found not to be much above 1300." Lingard says, also naming no authority, that "the clergyman of the place, who superintended the burial of the dead, reduces it to about 1200 men." Dugdale, a contemporary, makes the number still lower. His words are (*Short View*, p. 109), "Upon strict inquiry from the adjacent inhabitants, who buried the bodies, and took particular notice of the distinct numbers put into each grave, it appears that there were not 1000 complete there interred."

Clarendon asserts that two-thirds of the slain were on the parliament-side. May says, "surely by the best account there were more slain on the king's side than the other;" and lord Wharton assured the parliament that the loss on their side did not exceed 300 men (*Journ.* v. 423.).

We may here observe that it is almost impossible to get a clear idea of the exact manner in which any battle was fought in this war, or a correct estimate of the number of men slain. Neither party had any scruple about making false reports: the parliamentary generals hardly ever owned to any but the most trifling losses, while they took care to magnify those of the enemy. Whitelock observes, on a letter of the earl of Essex, giving a very partial account of the surrender at Lostwithiel in 1644: "By this, and several other letters, we may observe how the parliament officers sought to lessen this defeat received by them, and to conceal the full truth thereof from the parliament; which is usual with some to lessen their defeats, and to enlarge their victories."

Warburton (*Clarendon*, vii. 563) says, "In the year 1741, or thereabouts, I had a conversation with the duke of Argyle and lord Cobham (both soldiers) concerning the conduct of Essex and the king after the battle of Edgehill. They said, Essex, instead of retiring to Coventry, should either have pushed the king or attended him closely; that since he neglected that, and went back so far north, the king should have marched hastily to London, and ended the war at a blow; that as lord Clarendon represents it, the conduct of both is incomprehensible. I think the matter very clear: Essex's views and principles would not suffer him to destroy the king, because the constitution would fall with

him, and this he loved. On the other hand, the king's best friends dreaded his ending the war by conquest, as knowing his despotic disposition. And these dissuaded the marching up to London, which lord Clarendon tells us was debated in council." These just remarks contain the solution of many difficulties in the military history of those times.

H, page 450.

EVILS OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Though, as we have asserted, this civil contest was freer from atrocities than any other, it must not be supposed that none such occurred. The following extracts from May, Clarendon, and Whitelock, will give some idea of the miseries endured by the people from the violence of the soldiery on both sides at this time.

"Many towns and villages he (Rupert) plundered, that is to say *robbed*, (for at that time first was the word *plunder* used in England, being born in Germany, when that stately country was so miserably wasted and pillaged by foreign armies,) and committed other outrages upon those who stood affected to the parliament, executing some, and hanging-up servants at their masters' doors for not discovering of their masters." May, 160. A common name for Prince Rupert, i. e. Robert, was Prince *Robber*.

Of Goring, Clarendon says (v. 138), "So that he was forced to retire to Salisbury, where his horse committed such horrid outrages and barbarities as they had done in Hampshire, without distinction of friends or foes; so that those parts which before were well devoted to the king, worried by oppression, wished for the access of any forces to redeem them." He elsewhere expresses himself to the same effect.

According to the same authority (v. 203), the commissioners of Cornwall complained against sir Richard Greenvil, "that he had committed very many honest substantial men, and all the constables of the east part of the county, to Lydford prison in Devonshire, for no offence, but to compel them to ransom themselves for money; and that his troopers had committed such outrages in the county, that they had been compelled in open sessions to declare against him, and to authorise the county, in case he should send his troops in such manner, to rise and beat them out." This, the historian observes, "was no other than a denouncing war against Greenvil." Yet he says that the discipline which Greenvil exercised over his men at Plymouth, "had raised him much credit among the country-people, who had lived long under the licence of prince Maurice." Whence we may infer what the conduct of that prince had been.

Whitelock is a much honester writer than Clarendon, and he does not conceal, like him, the faults of his own party. It might, therefore,

seem, though such was not the case, that the license was greater on the side of the parliament.

He says (p. 114), "The parliament's forces quartered at Reading, Abington, and Henley, where the rude soldiers did great mischief to friends as well as enemies in their houses, and more in their woods; but such insolencies and mischiefs must be expected from this brood of men, or rather brutish soldiers, who know no difference between friends and foes, but all is plunder that they can fasten their hands upon." Again (p. 125), "A petition from Bedfordshire, complaining of the unruliness of the soldiers, their taking horses in markets from the country-people, and then making them to redeem them again for money. The like from Sussex and Bucks, and complaining of the ravishing of women and murdering of men." "These," he observes, "were the fruits of civil war, robberies, ravishings, and innumerable wicked actions committed by the barbarous soldiers, to the unspeakable misery of the poor country." Again (p. 131), "The committee reported several murders, rapes, and other cruelties, committed by some of the parliament's soldiers. Some of the officers grew insufferably dissolute and insolent, and their soldiers followed the example of their commanders."

The New Model however, and still more, the termination of the war in 1645, put an end to these enormities.

We may add Mrs. Hutchinson's account of sir John Gell and his men:

"About this time sir John Gell, a Derbyshire gentleman, who had been sheriff of the county at that time when the illegal tax of ship-money was exacted, and so violent in the prosecution of it that he starved sir John Stanhope's cattle in the pound, and would not suffer any one to relieve them there, because that worthy gentleman stood out against that unjust payment, and who had by many aggravating circumstances, not only concerning his prosecution of sir John Stanhope, but others, so highly misdemeaned himself, that he looked for punishment from the parliament; to prevent it, very early put himself into their service, and, after the king was gone out of those countries, prevented the cavalier gentry from seizing the town of Derby, and fortified it, and raised a regiment of foot. These were good stout fighting men, but the most licentious ungovernable wretches that belonged to the parliament. He himself, no man knows for what reason he chose that side, for he had not understanding enough to judge the equity of the cause, nor piety or holiness, being a foul adulterer all that time he served the parliament, and so unjust, that, without any remorse, he suffered his men indifferently to plunder both honest men and cavaliers. This man kept the Diurnal-makers in pension, so that whatever was done in the neighbouring counties, against the enemy, was attributed to him, and thus he hath indirectly [i. e. by improper means], purchased himself a name in story which he never merited, who was a very bad man, to sum up all in that word, yet an

instrument of service to the parliament in those parts."—Life of Col. Hutchinson, p. 105.

This excellent lady's account of Mr. Millington, Mr. Salisbury, Col. Chadwick, captain White, Dr. Plumtre, and the feuds in Nottingham, is also very curious as a picture of the manners of the time. "Neither was it Col. Hutchinson's case only," she observes (p. 250); "almost all the parliament garrisons were infested and disturbed with like factious little people, insomuch that many worthy gentlemen were wearied out of their commands, and opprest by a certain sort [set] of mean people in the house, whom to distinguish from the more honourable gentlemen they called *Worsted-stocking men*."

I, page 476.

GLAMORGAN'S COMMISSION.

There is no point on which the advocates of Charles are more straitened than this, of the commission to Glamorgan to treat with the Irish catholics. At one period their policy was to deny it altogether, but the Inquiry of Dr. Birch having proved its truth beyond the possibility of doubt, the more prudent course of passing it over in perfect silence has been resorted to. This is the course pursued by Mr. D'Israeli, and he has thereby, in our judgement, forfeited all claim to historic honesty and impartiality. Dr. Lingard, whose prejudices are, on this occasion, on the side of truth, has produced additional evidence against the king, and has, we think, put an end to all dispute on the subject. The following are a few of the particulars, which he prefaces (x. 408) by this just remark: "Nothing more clearly shows the readiness of Charles to engage in intrigue and the subtleties and falsehood to which he could occasionally descend, than the history of Glamorgan's mission to Ireland."

By a commission dated April 1, 1644, Charles appointed him commander-in-chief of three armies, English, Irish, and foreign; authorised him to raise money on the royal wardships, customs, &c.; gave him patents of nobility to be filled up with names at his discretion; promised the princess Elizabeth to his son, with a portion of 300,000*l.*, and the title of duke of Somerset, with the George and blue ribbon to himself.—Birch, 22.

According to Glamorgan, "the maintenance of the army of foreigners was to have come from the pope and such catholic princes as he should have drawn into it, having engaged to afford and procure 30,000*l.* a month." To this end he was authorised to promise the catholics the quiet enjoyment of their religion, free from the penalties imposed by statute.—Clar. Papers, ii. 201, 202.

In January 1645, Glamorgan received a variety of letters and commissions from the king, all to the same effect; and on the 20th of Octo-

ber, Charles wrote with his own hand to the pope and cardinal Spada, requesting them to give credit to Glamorgan or his messenger, and pledging his royal word to fulfil whatever should be agreed to by him. In January 1646 Charles, as we have seen -(above, p. 475), disavowed Glamorgan to the parliament, and wrote in evasive terms to Ormond and the Irish council, and immediately after to Glamorgan himself, declaring that he was "every day confirmed more and more in the trust" he had in him, and assuring him of his constant friendship, "which," he adds, "considering the general defection of common honesty, is in a sort requisite."

"If," says Lingard, "after the perusal of these documents, any doubt can remain of the authenticity of Glamorgan's commission, it must be done away by the following passage from Clarendon's correspondence with secretary Nicholas. Speaking of his intended history, he says, 'I must tell you I care not how little I say in that business of Ireland, since those strange powers and instructions given to your favourite Glamorgan, which appears to me so inexcusable to justice, piety, and prudence. And I fear there is very much in that transaction of Ireland, both before and since, that you and I were never thought wise enough to be advised with in. Oh! Mr. Secretary, those stratagems have given me more sad hours than all the misfortunes in war which have befallen the king, and look like the effect of God's anger towards us.'"—Clar. Papers, ii. 337.

K, page 515.

JUDGES OF KING CHARLES I*.

<i>Oliver Cromwell</i> , L.-General.	<i>Sir Myles Lyvesey</i> .
Com.-Gen. <i>Henry Ireton</i> .	Col. <i>Thomas Harrison</i> .
L.-Gen. <i>Thomas Hammond</i> .	— <i>Edward Whalley</i> .
Thomas Lord Grey.	— <i>Thomas Pride</i> .
Phil. Lord Lisle.	— <i>Isaac Ewer</i> .
Will. Lord Munson.	— <i>Rich. Ingoldsby</i> .
Sir <i>Hardresse Waller</i> .	— Rowland Wilson.
— Henry Mildmay.	— <i>Henry Marten</i> .
— <i>John Danvers</i> .	— <i>Will. Purefoy</i> .
— <i>Thos. Maleverer</i> .	— Godfrey Bosville.
— <i>John Boucher</i> .	— <i>John Berkstead</i> .
— James Harrington.	— <i>Edmund Ludlow</i> .
— William Brereton.	— <i>John Hutchinson</i> .
— Peter Wentworth.	— <i>Robert Tichburne</i> .
— Will. Constable.	— <i>Owen Roe</i> .
— <i>Greg. Norton</i> .	— <i>Adrian Scroop</i> .
— <i>Peter Temple</i> .	— <i>John Okey</i> .

* Those in italics signed the warrant for his execution.

Col. John Harrison.	<i>Henry Smith</i> , Esq.
— <i>John More</i> .	James Chaloner, Esq.
— Francis Lassels.	Dennis Bond, Esq.
— Edm. Harvey.	<i>Humph. Edwards</i> , Esq.
— <i>John Ven</i> .	<i>Greg. Clement</i> , Esq.
— <i>Antony Stapley</i> .	John Fray, Esq.
— <i>George Fleetwood</i> .	<i>Thos. Wogan</i> , Esq.
— James Temple.	John Love, Esq.
— <i>Thos. Wayte</i> .	<i>Will. Cawley</i> , Esq.
— Mat. Thomlinson.	John Lisle, Esq.
— <i>Val. Walton</i> .	John Corbet, Esq.
— <i>John Downes</i> .	Thos. Blunt, Esq.
— <i>Rob. Lilburne</i> .	Thos. Boone, Esq.
— <i>Richard Deane</i> .	John Browne, Esq.
— <i>John Huson</i> .	<i>Will. Say</i> , Esq.
— John Desborough.	<i>Thos. Scot</i> , Esq.
Lieut.-Col. <i>Will. Goffe</i> .	<i>John Blackiston</i> , Esq.
Alderman Isaac Pennington.	<i>Gilb. Millington</i> , Esq.
——— <i>Thos. Atkins</i> .	Abraham Barrell, Esq.
——— <i>John Foulks</i> .	Nich. Love, Esq.
——— <i>Thos. Andrews</i> .	<i>Thos. Horton</i> , Esq.
Serjeant <i>John Bradshaw</i> .	<i>John Carew</i> , Esq.
——— <i>Francis Thorp</i> .	<i>Vincent Potter</i> , Esq.
Cornelius Holland, Esq.	<i>Augustine Garland</i> , Esq.
<i>Miles Corbet</i> , Esq.	<i>John Dixwell</i> , Esq.
Francis Allen, Esq.	<i>Simon Mayne</i> , Esq.
<i>Peregrine Pelham</i> , Esq.	<i>Dan. Blaggrave</i> , Esq.
John Gourdon, Esq.	<i>John Jones</i> , Esq.
<i>Thos. Challoner</i> , Esq.	Wm. Heveningham, Esq.
<i>John Aldred</i> , Esq.	

L, page 522.

LAST DAYS OF CHARLES I.

The question of where the king resided between the time of his sentence and that of his death, is one about which we should think a person of ordinary judgment, who had read the contemporary authorities with any care, could have little doubt. Yet it has been the subject of dispute and even vituperation.

Clement Walker says, "the king lay at Whitehall Saturday and Sunday night, so near the place appointed for the separation of his soul and body that he *might* hear every stroke the workmen gave upon the scaffold, where they wrought all night." Hume adopts this statement, but says that the king *did* hear the strokes.

Now Herbert, who never quitted Charles, says that, after his sentence, he was taken to Whitehall, "whence, in *two hours' space*, he was removed

to St. James's." Macauley, Laing, Fox, Brodie, all exclaim against the partial historian who preferred the unprincipled libeller (as all that party affect to esteem Walker,) to the honest, simple-hearted Herbert, whose narrative Laing discovered that Hume had read, and even marked this very passage, in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.

Yet after all Walker's is the true account, only that, in his usual manner, he has embellished it a little. Charles *was* at Whitehall on Saturday and Sunday, and he was removed to St. James's on Monday, probably out of humanity, in order that he *might not* hear the strokes of the workmen, for, as we shall see, the place of execution was not fixed on till that day.

"The king," says Rushworth, "was Saturday and Sunday at Whitehall. Dr. Juxon sat up with him all Saturday night. Sunday he dined and supped in his bedchamber, and seemed very cheerful." "And the next day being Sunday, he was attended by the guard to St. James's, where the bishop preached before him." "This day (Monday) the king was removed to St. James's; this night he lay at St. James's." "Jan. 29 (Monday). Upon report made by the committee for considering the time and place of the executing of the judgment against the king, the said committee have resolved that the open street before Whitehall, over against the banqueting-house, is a fit place, and conceive it fit that the king be there executed tomorrow, the king having already notice thereof."

The accounts in Whitelock, Ludlow, and lord Leicester's Journal, all agree with Rushworth. It would seem that historians sometimes consult their authorities very negligently; in fact, Mr. D'Israeli, who is the latest writer on this subject, rests alone on Leicester's Journal for the confutation of Herbert, in whose narrative he supposes the 'two hours' to be a misprint for 'two days.' But there is no need of this hypothesis, for Herbert's memory seems to have been a very treacherous one. Thus, for instance, he makes the king to be nearly a month at St. James's before his trial, and to be brought thence to Whitehall on the 19th; whereas, according to Rushworth and Whitelock, he came on that day from Windsor to St. James's, and from there next day to Whitehall, whence he was conveyed to sir Robert Cotton's house at Westminster, and thence into the hall.

Burnet (Own Times, i. 86) justly observes of bishop Juxon, that he "did the duty of his function honestly, but with a dry coldness that could not raise the king's thoughts, so that it was owing wholly to somewhat within himself, that he went through so many indignities with so much true greatness, without disorder or any kind of affectation."

Ludlow's (i. 244) sarcastic account of Juxon's conduct, when summoned on the 27th to attend the king, provokes a smile. "He being altogether unprepared for such a work, broke out into these expressions: 'God save me, what a trick is this that I should have no more warning, and... have nothing ready!' But, recollecting himself a little, he put on

his scarf and his other furniture and went to the king, where, having read the common-prayer and one of his old sermons, he administered the sacrament to him, not forgetting to use the words of the confession set down in the liturgy, inviting all those that truly repent to make their confession before the congregation then gathered together, though there was none present but the king and himself."

M, page 524.

MOTIVES OF THE KING'S JUDGES.

"As to Mr. Hutchinson," says his wife, "although he was very much confirmed in his judgment concerning the cause, yet here being called on to an extraordinary action, whereof many were of several minds, he addressed himself to God by prayer, desiring the Lord that if, through any human frailty, he were led into any error or false opinion in these great transactions, he would open his eyes, and not suffer him to proceed, but that he would confirm his spirit in the truth, and lead him by a right enlightened conscience. And finding no check but a confirmation in his conscience that it was his duty to act as he did, he, upon serious debate both privately and in his addresses to God, and in conferences with conscientious, upright, and unbiassed persons, proceeded to sign the sentence against the king, although he did not then believe but it might one day come to be again disputed among men; yet both he and others thought they could not refuse it without giving up the people of God, whom they had led forth, and engaged themselves unto by the oath of God, into the hands of God's and their enemies, and therefore he cast himself upon God's protection, acting according to the dictates of a conscience which he had sought the Lord to guide, and accordingly the Lord did signalise his favour afterwards to him."

It is impossible to question the purity of this excellent man's motives, and he appears to have been so fully convinced of the rectitude of his course, that if we may credit Ludlow, (ii. 334), he "exceeded most of the members of the high court of justice in zeal for putting the king to death." Of himself Ludlow thus speaks (i. 230),—

"Being fully persuaded that an accommodation with the king was unsafe to the people of England, and unjust and wicked in the nature of it. The former, besides that it was obvious to all men, the king himself had proved, by the duplicity of his dealing with the parliament; which manifestly appeared in his own papers, taken at Naseby and elsewhere. Of the latter I was convinced by the express words of God's law, 'That blood defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it.' Numbers xxxv. 33. And, therefore, I could not consent to the counsels of those who were contented to leave the guilt of so much blood upon the nation, and thereby to draw down the just vengeance of God upon us all, when it

was most evident that the war had been occasioned by the invasion of our rights and open breach of the laws and constitution on the king's part."

Thomas Scot, another of the king's judges, declared (Ludlow, ii. 369) "that he should desire no greater honour in this world than that the following inscription might be engraven on his tomb:—'Here lieth one who had a hand and a heart in the execution of Charles Stuart, late king of England.' " The private character of Scot was not however so pure as those of Hutchinson and Ludlow.

N, page 524.

THE ICON BASILIKE.

There can be no stronger proof of the influence of party spirit, than the fact of there being persons at all periods, since the date of its publication, who have believed the Icon Basiliké to be the genuine production of the king.

The real author, as we have stated in the text, was a clergyman named Gauden, a well-known pamphleteer at the time. It was sent to the king at Carisbrooke, through the marquess of Hertford. Charles approved of and revised it, but it was not the revised copy that was printed. Milton, it appears from the *Iconoclastes*, had a vague suspicion of its genuineness; but it was not till after the Restoration that Gauden revealed the secret to Charles II., the duke of York, and the earls of Clarendon and Bristol. He gave them such proofs of the truth of what he asserted, that he obtained the see of Exeter. Not content with this he claimed that of Winchester, and he wrote to Clarendon threatening to publish the secret if he should be neglected, and he was in consequence promoted to the wealthy see of Worcester. Clarendon, in his letter on the subject, says, "And truly when it ceases to be a secret, I know nobody will be glad of it but Mr. Milton. I have very often wished that I had never been trusted with it." The opinion of Clarendon, who could hardly be deceived, is therefore clear on the subject, and this is confirmed by the fact of his not having made the slightest allusion to the Icon Basiliké in his History.

In a work called 'Who wrote *εἰκὼν βασιλική*?' Dr. Wordsworth has of late reasserted the claim of the king; but few, we believe, have been convinced by his arguments. See Lingard, x. 421, and Hallam's note in the early editions of his Constitutional History.

END OF VOL. II.



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